Government health care programmes will have to take a severe brunt of a steep price rise in drugs and medicines. Hence either the target of "HEALTH FOR ALL" will become still distant dream or the tax payers will have to take the extra burden. In all-probability both will happen.

A large number of research institutes under CSIR umbrella are today conducting socially relevant research for inventing HYV seeds, pesticides and vaccines for disease prevention etc. If this research stops, it will have a serious bearing on the availability of food and other essential items for the weaker section of the society. This will grealy add to the hardships of the poor masses.

A programme like cow cross breeding will not be possible any more.

Even if a drug for a dreaded disease like AIDS is available we will not be able to avail of it unless we pay exhorbitant price. If the ominous PRODUCT PATENTING comes into existence then we connot develop an alternate process to manufacture the same drug. We have to either pay price the multinational dictates or let those unfortunate beings die. This is certainly a misuse of science.

Science has a glorious tradition. Humanity is indebted to a large number of scientists who risked their lives and experimented on themselves during their research work. It is these towering men whose tremendous sacrifices have contributed to the development of science and alleviation of miseries and sufferings of mankind And here are the American merceneries and their allies who use science as a bargainig chip to gain greater access to our market.

Science should never be a monopoly of a few, be it individuals or nations. Hence the existing Indian Patent Laws must be preserved.

SO JOIN US IN DEFENDING THE IPA 1970.

REMEMBER DEFENDING IPA 1970 IS AS IMPORTANT AS DEFENDING OUR NATIONAL BORDERS.

LET US ALL BECOME SOLDIERS IN THIS SILENT WAR.

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Defend Indian Patent Act 1970

Lok Vidnyan Sanghatana believes that the benefits of Science and Technology must reach the common man, that Science must not remain a monopoly of a small section of people or a few nations. But the proposal to change the Indian Patent Act of 1970 is precisely threatening the very ideals of spread of Science and Technology and its benefits to the people. We therefore feel that all the citizens of India must realize the importance of protecting the Indian Patent Act of 1970.

Patent is a device by which an invention is considered "Intellectual Property" of the individual or organisation who poineered it. Patent Law while acknowledging this fact institutes a regime where, while the private interests are protected the larger public interests of the society are not the casualty. In the developing countries like India such a law has also to discharge an additional responsibility of catalysing the economic development. The Patent Law has to stimulate local industrial development and create a research-friendly environment so that a string of national research institutes emerge and thrive.

In India the Patent Act existed as early as in 1856. However the scrutiny of this Act done by two Committees in post independence India revealed that–

The Patent System of pre-independence India–

1. Failed to stimulate inventions among the Indians.
2. Granting of patent protection did not result in local manufacturing. In fact patenting was used by beneficiaries to thwart Indian as well as foreign competition and extract premium price even for essential goods like food and drugs. Demand was largely met by importation.

Considering this bitter experience of colonial dependence and exploitation the pre-independence Patent Regime was thoroughly overhauled and a new more progressive regime was established by enacting " Indian Patent Act of 1970 " (IPA 1970)

The basic philosophy underlying IPA 1970 is—

1. To protect inventor's interest to motivate future inventions.
2. To ensure that public interests are not hampered by the patentees enjoying excessive monopoly and no obligation of local manufacturing

Some of the important features of IPA 1970 are—

1. For products which are used as food medicine or drug or those which are produced by a chemical process, the process or method of manufacture is patentable and not the product itself.
2. The following inventions are not patentable—
   Scientific principles or abstract theory.
   Inventions intended for use contrary to law or morality or injurious to public health
   Inventions related to atomic energy.
   Processes for medical or surgical or curative or other treatment of humanbeings, animals, plants that renders them disease free or increases their economic value.

IPA 1970 is acclaimed by right thinking people all over the world. In the modern world where the cost of invention of products is mind boggling the liberty provided by IPA 1970 to invent the same product by alternate process is considered absolutely essential for sustaining any research activity in a poor developing country like ours. No wonder international bodies like UNCTAD considers IPA 1970 as the model law for all the developing countries.

The Patent Regime ushered in by IPA 1970 was conducive to self-reliant development of India. Some of its contributions are enumerated below.

Drugs and Pharmaceutical industry

From 1975/76 till today.

1. Growth in production of bulk drugs 5 times.
2. Growth in production of formulations 6 times.
3. Rise in exports of drugs and pharmaceuticals 10.5 times.
4. The timelag for introduction of new drugs which was 10 to 15 years before the introduction of IPA 1970 got reduced to 4 to 6 years.
5. Production of 100 bulk drugs started with indigenous technology.

Pesticide Industry

1. Starting from only 2 pesticides today 50 pesticides are manufactured in the country, all with the help of technology locally developed by CSIR.
2. Exports of pesticides increased by 10 times though at times at the cost of environment.
3. The national level research institutes like NCL Pune, RRL Hyderabad, RRL Jammu, IARI Delhi have developed over 27 varieties of pesticides.

Atomic Energy

Because IPA 1970 did not permit Product Patenting,

1. India has become one of the few countries in the world capable of designing, building, fueling, and operating power reactors.
2. Over 400 radioactive substances produced indigenously.
3. We have developed indigenously nuclear science applications in the areas of diagnosis, treatment, industrial radiography, commercial radiation sterilization.

Other Sectors

Fully indigenous knowhow developed in the following areas.

1. Mining and smelting of iron ore, aluminium, manganese,

zinc, and other nonferrous metals.
2. Refining of crude and manufacture of petrochemicals.
3. Fertilizer plants.
4. Thermo, hydro, nuclear power plants.

This quest for self reliant economic development which has unleashed the creative potentials of Indian intellegentsia, and hopes to provide basic necessities to the toiling millions of this country is being strangulated

The IPA 1970 Is Under Attack

Viewed in the proper historical perspective there is no reason to press for changes in the IPA 1970. Most of the developed countres had a similar patent regime in the early stages of their development. UK had process patents till 1948. Switzerland had only process patents till as late as 1978 and Spain has the same till today.

But today in every bilateral and multilateral negotiation we are being pushed to abandon our patent regime or else face severe punitive action. We are being pressurised to introduce " product patent " with a twenty year of protection. The consequences of such suicidal change will be disastrous.

Current Indian Research Activity because of the size of business and current stage of development is directed at PROCESS RESEARCH. This research will have to stop completely for new drugs and chemicals and pesticides once the Products become patentable. The future research activity will be possible only for those products whose patents have expired, that is after 20 years.

India will become dependent for patented raw material and products. Foreign patent holders can take their own sweet time to start indigenous production and in the mean time skim the market and country with their premium pricing.

THE NINASAM

At Heggodu, a remote village, about 350 kms. away from Bangalore, is this cultural complex known as Ninasam. It has an auditorium of its own, a theatre institute and a film-society. It is a mouth-piece of the rural folk giving vent to their and a tribute to their creativity, humility and generosity.

INTRODUCTION

Thirty four years of devoted group work of local enthusiasts in a rural corner has crystallised into—

NINASAM— a theatre group which has made its mark on the theatre—map of India;

SHIVARAMA KARANTHA RANGAMANDIRA — the only well equipped rural theatre in Karnataka;

NINASAM CHITRASAMAJA — the only rural film society in India to publish books on film-education and to conduct film appreciation courses besides showing films.

NINASAM THEATRE INSTITUTE:—the first theatre school in Karnataka modelled on the principles of the NSD of Delhi;

JANASPANDANA — a two year rural theatre and film project undertaken with the aid of The Ford Foundation of the USA.

— all these dreamt and achieved by local people with self-effort.

It is significant that these were not the efforts of any external agency to reform and modernize the rural people but the dreams dreamt and realised with self-effort by the local people themselves. The achievements stand witness to a microcosm of New Rural India striving hard to realise its dreams of a modern democratic life through individual development and group communication.

Heggodu is that Microcosm.

NINASAM

Ninasam is short for Shri Nilakanteshwara Natya Seva Sangha. What began as an amateur drama troupe of village lads in 1949 has today grown into a cultural complex. To those who are interested in Kannada theatre, Ninasam is no more a new name.

Years ago they were young and bursting. They would work in the fields or plantations till the sun went down. Then they would rush home, put on clean clothes and make a dash to that massive shanty. Meet and chat, that was the purpose. Drama was only an excuse then. In course of time, the excuse grew into a passion. A while later, the passion led to what it is today — Ninasam, the multi-purpose institution.

Young people have come and young people have gone; but the youth has always remained with the Ninasam. Its first production was a Kannada version of the Bengali play **Shahjahan** written by D. L. Roy. **Sangya-Balya, Baka, Chomana Dudi, Ondu Loka Kathe, Saahebru Baruttare** and children's plays like **Panjara Shale, Kaadinalli Kathe, Aa Mani** and **Kalinga Mardana** are some of its well-known productions.

In the three decades of its growth well-known directors like B. V. Karanth, Prasanna, Jayathirtha Joshi and so on have directed plays for the Ninasam. It has given performances in different parts of the state and in New Delhi as well. It has sponsored shows of many a visiting troupe in addition to conducting a number of workshops, seminars and festivals. It has also published a number of books relating to drama and cinema.

SHIVARAMAKARANTHA RANGA MANDIRA

Shivaramakarantha Rangamandira is a well equipped theatre which serves all the basic requirements of a modern production. The total area of the auditorium is nine thousand feet. The stage is 50' (L) x 36' (W) x 22' (H). It has a permanently fixed cyclorama at the back. The auditorium is a brick and cement structure which can accomodate 700-800 seats and is used for screening films also. The total cost of the building, in its present form, came to around three lakh rupees. With the exception of Ravindra Kalakshethra of Bangalore which was built earlier by the State Government, Shivaramakarantha Rangamandira is the only auditorium built exclusively for the activities of the theatre. And perhaps it is the only one such in rural India.

A number of plays have been produced here by local artists.

Also several troupes from different parts of the country including the repertory compay of N. S. D. Delhi, have come here and given performances.

Ninasam Chitrasamaj

Ninasam Chitrasamaj, however, is the second important stage in the evolution of Ninasam. In the 70's attempts were made to introduce an eminent director like Satyajit Ray to the rural masses. The impact was so encouraging that in 1973 Ninasam Chitrasamaj was established. This film society is perhaps the first rural film society in India. The society owns a 16 mm projector and has projected great films from all over the world. The cinema culture has made a tremendous inpact on this remote corner of India widening the awareness of the rural masses by opening up new channels of communication. Our farmers, housewives, workers and children have been introduced to great directors like Bergman, Felini and Kurosava. The first rural film festival of world classics was held here in 1977. In 1978 the first film appreciation course was conducted. Directors, film critics and technicians from different parts of the country came to this village, stayed with us for ten days and discussed various aspects of the film medium with the local people. A few surveys were also conducted to study the rural response to the cine-classics. This was a rare socio-cultural event of 1978 in India. Since then the film appreciation course has been an annual feature of the Ninasam Chitrasamaj which has attracted laymen and experts alike from all over India. The Ninasam Chitrasamaj does not forget to thank institutions like the Film and TV Institute India, and the National Film Archive of India, Pune, in this regard. The society has published a number of introductory books in Kannada on the subject and has thus contributed quite a lot to the film society movement in Karnataka. The publications are translations of the scripts of 'Battle ship Potemkin'. 'Rashoman', 'Pather Panchali', and 'Seventh Seal' etc. A glossary of technical terms in Kannada regarding the 'Film language' has been a very useful publication. Thus, Heggodu, a very small village with a population of less than 500 has been permanently placed in the cultural map of India by the dedicated work of the Ninasam.

Ninasam Theatre Institute

The Ninasam Theatre Institute came into existence in 1980. One cannot ignore the importance of the theatre in today's life. Especially in the third world, it is probably the most effective, and at the same time the most easily available medium of mass communication. Like the newspapers, it does not ask for literacy, nor does it ask for sophisticated equipment as cinema does to reach its target audience. Given the necessary training, the common man can use the theatre to voice his agony and ecstasy. National School of Drama, New Delhi is probably the only ideal institution in the country imparting such training. Very few universities in India offer courses in theatre arts. The Ninasam believes that the people should be able to voice their needs in their own language. Which means, it believes in cultural decentralisation consonant with our democratic set-up. That is why, it has come up with the Ninasam Theatre Institute to train youngsters in theatre arts.

The Ninasam Theatre Institute is an offshot of the Ninasam itself. It is situated at Heggodu. It has a well-trained faculty, library and a laboratory. All those who are genuinely interested in theatre are eligible for admission. Generally 10—15 students are admitted for an academic year. The students are provided with free lodging facilities. Karnataka Nataka Academy has announced four scholarships of Rs. 150/- p. m. for the deserving candidates. Sri Prithviraj Kapoor Memorial Trust, Bombay, offers two scholarships of Rs. 150/- per month. The Ninasam theatre group and also the Ninasam Chitrasamaj extend necessary assistance to the Institute. Shivaramakarantha Rangamandira is at its disposal all the time.

In spirit, the three year course of N.S.D. has been condensed into a one year course and a comprehensive syllabus has been designed accordingly. In all, there are six papers including theory and practicals consisting of Theatre Concept, Acting, Stage-Craft, Theatre management, Histories of Dramatic Literature and Theatrical Production. The medium of instruction is Kannada. At the end of the year Diploma Certificate — are awarded to the successful candidates.

Ninasam Janaspandana

These days one notices a surge of new enthusiam in drama and cinema all over Karnataka. This is particularly evident in the rural pockets of the state. Even in small villages, people are coming forward to organise film-shows and stage-performances. And this, despite the lack of necessary training and organisational skills! Activities such as these, though sporadic, signal a new awareness, a new understanding of the democratic ideals. Now, it is necessary to go to the aid of these rural folk, and guide them in organising their own resources and their own personnel. Which is what makes it a definite move, an act of deliberation, a streamlining of this spontaneous burst of enthusiam. Initiate such a move, spot the sporadic events and weave them into a movement in an act of cultural decentralisation: that is what constitutes the pith of the project the Ninasam Janaspandana.

The Janaspandana will use drama and cinema as its tools with a view to emphasizing the necessity of mass-media in today's life. This way, the project envisages to build up an infra-structure for the mass-media to function as best they could among the rural folk of different faiths, classes and age-groups.

The Janaspandana has two units, the drama unit and the film unit. In collaboration with the local organisations, they will conduct drama workshops, film-festivals and film-appreciation courses in different rural centres of the state. In all, each unit will organise six programmes a year. The project as such will be spread over a period of two years. Within this period, it envisages to organise at least one programme in each district of Karnataka.

The Janaspandana came into existence in September 1983 itself. The first programme it organised was a drama-workshop for the Harijans of Heggodu and its surrounding villages. The next in order was a play-writing workshop at Heggodu to prepare scripts for the forth-coming drama workshops.

An information and documentation centre has been set up at Heggodu to maintain records of all the Janaspandana activities.

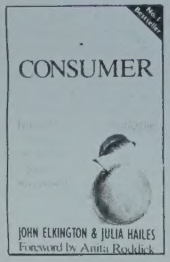
Green Piece of the Action

FRED PEARCE asks whether the media's enthusiasm for the environment is endangering its survival as a front-page issue.

These days we're all green. But sometimes things get out of hand. Take *Today* in August, at the height of the great ivory scare. It reported at length and in glowing terms a new get-tough policy against poachers by Kenyan park rangers in which, said the strapline, 'the death toll is reversed as rangers shoot to kill'. In a fashion 'more akin to the Green Berets than Greenpeace', the article said, 'since June just one elephant has been slaughtered, while the death-toll of their killers is 30'. This ecofascism makes me distinctly queasy.

Today has been running an awful lot of green stories in recent months, but it wasn't the first. Depending on who you talk to, the honour of starting the bandwagon rolling goes to either the *Daily Telegraph*, where editor Max Hastings's market research pinpointed green issues as the route to the younger reader, or the *Daily Mail*. One version has Tessa Tennent, a well connected society environmentalist, arranging a lunch with the *Mail*'s editor Sir David English and his boss Lord Rothermere, at which English received his green orders. A little later, in summer 1988, front pages were full of pictures of dead seals washed up on English shores.

I'm still unsure how the *Mail* spent the proceeds of its appeal to Save Our Seals. But no matter, by now the news agenda had been rewritten and Margaret Thatcher had added her own imprint to the cause. The European elections were yet to come.



Selling in a sea of green: sales hit 300,000 in a year

The tinder had been waiting to be ignited for some time. As Geoffrey Lean, Fleet Street's longest lasting environmental correspondent (he made his name in the 1970s listing Yorkshire's 'dirty dozen' worst river polluters), told his readers in the *Observer*: 'During the 1983 general election, an opinion poll found that one-third of respondents were ready to change their votes for environmental reasons, but no one took any notice.'

Now the penny has dropped. The *Guardian*, in laudably energy-efficient style, is recycling lots of old stories on its environment page every Friday. *Marxism Today* ponders regularly on green politics in 'post-Fordist' Britain. The new *Green Magazine*, launched this autumn with a cuddly seal on the cover, is apparently confident that it can reach break-even sales of more than 150,000. Green Shopping Day in September proved an advertising bonanza, even if some of the claims verged on the surreal. Thus the new, green Ariel Ultra washing powder claimed to contain '30 per cent less chemicals'. I'm still trying to puzzle out what that means. And various car manufacturers appeared to believe that lead-free petrol saves the ozone layer.

I'm left breathless by the green yuppies suddenly showing up at press conferences at the Department of the Environment. Once you could tell a green hack by his rare-species status, the cut of his sandals and the distinctive markings on his pullover. But now they come in suits and, like our new green secretary of state, Chris Patten, all believe in having their cake and eating it.

Now the greens who learnt everything they know from Fritz Schumacher's *Small is Beautiful* are unsure how to respond to the generation greened by Maggie and the *Mail*. The older hands believe that the cake is the problem and the consumer society is a 'bad thing'. The idea of a green Tesco's is for them a contradiction in terms. They are out to wreak revenge on the likes of John Elkington, a green consultant to industry who tapped the new mood to extraordinary effect by co-writing the *Green Consumer Guide*, a year and 300,000 copies ago.

The old-colonial green trouper Jonathon Porritt, director of Friends of the Earth, is to retaliate with a 'green con' award this Christmas, to be given to the perpetrator of the most outrageous green claim for a product.

If we are all green today, then it carries no kudos. The 'big idea' has suddenly become small. Now it matters most what kind of a green you are. And here some of the old familiar arguments can re-emerge under different colours.

Some papers back the new green titans of industry. Last month the *Sunday Times Magazine* ran a loving puff for how environmentally friendly ICI is. I've heard the sentiment before, not least in Elkington's article for ICI's house magazine. But here we were told how ICI was public-spiritedly leading the way in finding alternatives to CFCs, the chemicals that eat the ozone layer. This line will have come as a surprise, I am sure, to negotiators of the Montreal protocol, the international deal cutting manufacture of CFCs. There Britain, fighting ICI's corner, held out against the inevitable long after even Du Pont's champions in the US delegation had seen the light through the ozone hole.

Others in the media, equally predictably perhaps, see things differently from Murdoch's men. At the time of writing, *World in Action* is planning a programme on the less-than-

Paint your bandwagon: a newcomer to the green scene

flattering 'true story' of the new greener-than-green ICI.

Charles Clover at the *Telegraph*, Fleet Street's first environmental editor, finds impeccably Conservative ways to save rainforests. Don't fence the world out, he says, invite it in. Make the forests a resource that can turn up in a company's list of capital assets, rather than being ransacked by cowboys. Meanwhile the *Guardian* finds 'the woman who planted 10 million trees' as part of the government-sponsored green belt movement in Kenya.

Two of the nice aspects of the rise of the new greens are the emergence of genuinely talented journalists, such as Michael McCarthy at the *Times*, and the survival of one of the old greens, Richard North. At the start of the decade he was editor of *Vole*, the first and still to my mind the best of the green magazines. But it was about a decade ahead of its time and hit cash crises before being taken over and shut down by a publisher of caravan magazines.

North reappeared as environment and rural affairs correspondent at the *Independent*, where they don't mind his rampant environmental revisionism, which enticed him into a series of articles in praise of the plain-speaking honesty of Nicholas Ridley, during the minister's hour as *bête noire* of the greens. North even rode to hounds, the better to re-

◀ FRED PEARCE

port the doings of the custodians of our countryside. And last month he came close to renouncing both his environmental and rural briefs by claiming in a think piece that the Government's real environmental sin was its failure to tackle the inner cities.

Such independence of spirit attracted the attention of Polly Toynbee, social affairs editor at the BBC, where, news desk willing, North may yet appear as the television environment correspondent. Such has been the delay inside the Birtian bureaucracy, however, that ITN, which advertised its own decision to appoint an environment correspondent some two months after the BBC, may be in business first.

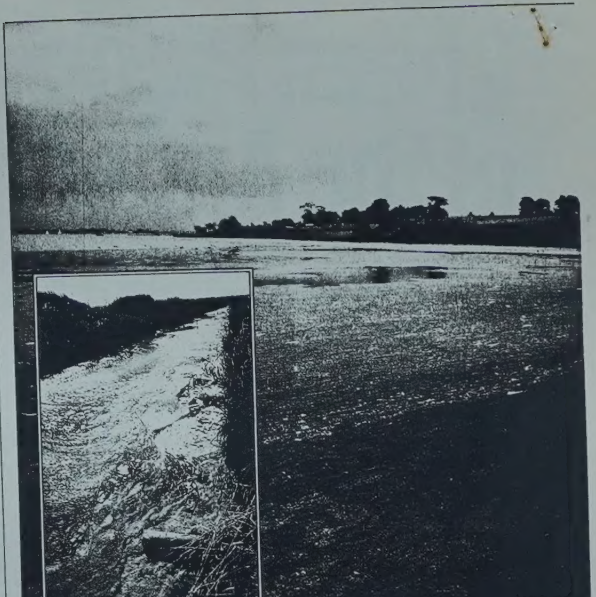
Most newspapers have responded belatedly but well to the challenge of bring the environment to their readers. Few have the remotest idea what drives the radical greens, of course, but they feel at home with the single-issue campaigning that is the bread and butter of most pressure groups. And they usually know what their readers want. The *Telegraph* can link hands with the green belt warriors as to the manor born. And the *Guardian* knows full well that the enthusiasts for peace studies in the early 1980s are now teaching their charges the lore of the rainforests.

But TV is not so sure. ITN has had a good handle on environmental stories for some years. But the BBC's search for balance in an environment story is often doomed for the lack of a fulcrum. Balancing the case of polluters with that of the environment can feel like giving equal time to Hitler. Doh't they know there's a war on to save our planet?

TV has the potential to lead the environmental media. *Panorama* has done some excellent, level-headed pieces. But my laureat so far goes to Gavin Esler for a series of visually stunning items for BBC News from the Brazilian rainforest this autumn, pointing up in startlingly direct terms the political, human and economic dilemmas that are behind the environmental crisis. No paper has come close to this quality of reporting. And it made ITN's recent series of reports on the ivory trade (largely handed to them on a plate by an environmental group) appear shallow.

What Esler showed was the need to integrate the environment with other parts of the political landscape. Most environment correspondents will need to learn the lesson. They have worked their way through the backlog of 'issues' kept warm for them by Greenpeace and Friends of the Earth. What do they do now to keep their stories on the front pages? What they need is a wider and more questioning approach. The environmental must come out of its cosy green ghetto. The easy stories have been done. Now reporters need the gumption to ask hard questions—of environmentalists as much as anyone else. They might start by demanding a justification for the corpses of those poachers littering the game reserves of Kenya. ■

Fred Pearce is author of 'Turning Up the Heat—our perilous future in the global greenhouse', published in paperback by Paladin (£4.99).



River Trouble

Green consumers are urged to buy phosphate-free products, but do phosphates really damage our waterways? MALCOLM STACEY charts a course through the current tide of opinion.

Britain is being invaded by green slime. It's a microscopic plant life called algal bloom which is coating the surface of our streams, rivers and reservoirs. In September, eight dogs and some lambs died after drinking water covered in poisonous algae from Rutland Water Reservoir in Leicestershire. The result was dramatic. Forty-nine similarly affected reservoirs have now been closed to the public.

Algal bloom, because it is so densely packed —five million plants per litre of water—has a lethal effect far more subtle than old-fashioned poisoning. It clogs the surface, choking out more interesting plants, like lilies and reeds. This brightly coloured living scum also stops oxygen getting into the water. When it decays, it takes even more oxygen out. Fish suffocate. As they die off, so do the birds and animals who feed on them. Water voles, otters, kingfishers and more unusual species may be threatened. Numbers of Arctic charr, a rare fish, have fallen by half in the last five years in Lake Windermere; scientists note an algae invasion over the same period.

Andrew Lees, water expert with Friends of the Earth, says this creeping carpet is the result of man-made pollution. 'This stuff is making our wildlife less diverse. Animals and fish are diminishing all the time. As a result

Poisoned Poland

AMANDA THEUNISSEN reports from Europe's most polluted country where green politics are part of the human rights struggle.

Scene: a mountain road in southern Poland. It is pouring with rain and almost dark. There is a horse and cart ahead, a lorry coming towards us and a desperate drunk trying to flag a lift from the middle of the road. We are coasting down a hill, very fast, in neutral, with the windscreen wipers inert and the brakes untouched. It is not my driver's individual attempt to stop his car engine polluting the environment, but economy. Car spares are becoming a memory, like meat or safe drinking water, and the queue for petrol in the last town involves a 23-hour wait.

Scene: a field below the huge copper smelter of Glogow. A family is gathering peas from the dry earth. The pods are grey and shrivelled, the leaves swollen with black spots. 'Yes, I know they're poisoned,' says the father of the group. 'But what can we do? We must eat.'

This is the Polish dilemma. For 40 years they were forced by their Communist masters to put increased production of heavy industry before every other consideration, and now they're reaping a bitter harvest. They are the most polluted country in Europe. The statistics are mind-boggling: four million tons of SO_2 dumped on the land every year—some of it theirs, some imported from upwind neighbours. There are towns where the level of lead in the air is 200 times the norm; the levels of cadmium in vegetables are 220 times the limit allowed. Seventy per cent of the rivers and lakes are officially classified as unusable for anything, even industry; 12 million people live in areas deemed ecological disaster zones and dangerous to health; 11,000 hectares of forest and 100 million fir trees have already died; life expectancy is going down, infant mortality is rising steeply—you name it, the Poles have got it. This is not the Third World; this is Europe.

It takes only two-and-a-half hours to fly to Warsaw, ten minutes more than to Rome. Half the capital city of one-and-a-half million people has no main sewage system. The evidence swirls disgustingly from the outfalls past the indifferent fishermen downstream. 'Of course we eat the fish,' they say. 'Everything in Poland is polluted, why should we worry about the fish particularly?' Those who can, get their drinking water from the old wells which are still clean; they know what is in the tap water. Western technology could clean up the mines and factories, but that would require hard currency. Poland has none, only debts of $4 billion to the West and six billion roubles to Russia. Aid has been promised from America, the European Community and from nearby Scandinavia, but so far nothing has materialised except a small air-monitoring station, a present from Holland. Anyway, cleaning the environment comes way down the list of priorities. Improving the ruined agriculture and economy comes first, and this order reflects the priorities of most Poles.

JEAN GAUMY / MAGNUM

Factories and food: industry pollutes (above) while a food queue in Gdansk shows continuing economic problems

There is a growing awareness of the dangers and the need for urgent action, but only at a certain level. Day-to-day living in Poland is hard and getting harder. Finding a flat and enough food for the family takes precedence over everything else. Inflation is running at 500 per cent a month; a doctor earns 75,000 zlotys a month, meat would cost 15,000 zlotys a kilo if there were any. Queues for everything stretch round the block and the doctors' surgeries are always full. All this makes it hard to worry about the fate of some dead trees on a distant mountain. The link between those dead trees, the filth from the old-fashioned factories, the high levels of sickness and the food shortages has never been spelt out, because it was politically unacceptable. The green movements are trying to break that conspiracy of silence.

Something like 2,000 environmental movements exist in Poland, an astonishing number in a country which until recently forbade the gathering and dissemination of any information critical of the Party or its policies. Most of them have evolved from human rights movements. The strongest and most influential is the Polish Ecological Club (the PKE), a formidable coalition of Solidarity workers, journalists, doctors and academics, formed in the early heady days of the movement in 1980. 'The right to clean air, clean food and a healthy environment is a human right,' insists Voitec Beblo, chairman of the Polish Ecological Club in Upper Silesia, the most polluted part of the whole country. 'Before, we were not treated like human beings, but objects who didn't count. We have to fight, we have to warn people what is happening to them. Until now the only cure has been delusion. Because no one explained, people thought if you didn't die immediately there was no danger in the fumes coming from the factory, but we are all learning and we will teach the others.'

Even in green politics the Polish genius for self-destruction is at work. Already Zygmut Fura, head of the Green Party, has been expelled from the PKE, following an argument about the unexplained whereabouts of some funds raised in the West. Freedom and Peace,

Fresh Criticism

BRUNO BARBEY/MAGNUM

ung radical students' environmental has decided to stay 'underground'—a t concept now that underground Soli- is the government. They feel they can e better that way, and say, wistfully, as so much easier in the old days; we what we were doing.' The one thing they ee on is that only Western aid can help ut of the vicious deadly spiral. This is a ean problem, they say, not just a Polish d without outside help it's going to get

PKE has a lot of political muscle. Many ers are also members of the Polish Aca- of Sciences, whose report in 1988 first out the dangers and warned of an immi- ecological catastrophe. They were able to the government to acknowledge the for urgent action. The government res- ed with a plan to clean up the whole ry in five years. Ludicrously expensive mpractical, it's been shelved, but the ncy is actually growing, and Solidarity is talking of closing down the worst of the ting mines and factories.

hat would happen to the workers? Solidar- lk of redeployment in other industries in parts of the country, but the waiting list flat is 30 years in Cracow, 50 in Warsaw. lity of labour does not really seem to be a tical proposition.

cidence of childhood leukaemia in Kato- e in Silesia has doubled in the last 12 s. One patient is Maria, aged nine. She has er. The doctor thinks its likely cause was zo-alpha-pyron, one of the deadliest of inogens, from the coke works where her er works. She's kept alive with drugs and pment from the West, partially paid for the hard currency earned from exports the steel mill fuelled by the coke. Does father think the factory should be closed n? 'It's too difficult for me,' he says. 'I am a worker. What do you think?' I have no wer either.

anda Theunissen produced Michael rk's report on Poland for the first in the part environmental series 'The State of rope', on Thursday 16 November at 8pm C2).

Quirky, idiosyncratic, infuriating, *The Good Food Guide* (Consumers' Association and Hodder & Stoughton, £11.95) is all these things but it has always been the most valuable guide to the best fresh food in Britain. Its founder was Raymond Postgate, the son of an eminent classical scholar. Fed up with the awfulness of postwar eating out, he and a group of like-minded chums decided to compile a list of the places that were serving good honest food and so the *Guide* was born.

By profession an historian, Postgate was a talented classical scholar himself and his translation of the *Agamemnon* of Aeschylus remains a model. After 20 years at the helm, his last preface began, predictably, in Latin; it was, as Postgate observed, 'a final piece of pedantry. In every issue there has been somewhere a small thumbmark as my signature — a word in Greek or a recondite and rather vulgar joke—and this is my last.'

Raymond was succeeded in 1970 by another author and journalist, Christopher Driver, who was equally prone to the temptations of classical allusion. He also exhibited a devastating command of language; many a pretentious restaurateur was impaled and held wriggling on his verbal rapier. After a dozen years Driver made way for journalist Drew Smith who proved to be a valiant apostle of the New British Cooking and the crusade for real food.

Restaurateurs and hoteliers who felt they had been excluded unfairly from the *Guide* or criticised unjustifiably could always console themselves by pointing out that Postgate, Driver and Smith were mere scriveners; they couldn't run a restaurant if they tried. That's not going to work any more. For the first time *The Good Food Guide* is edited by a very successful restaurateur indeed. For many years Tom Jaine was owner manager of The Carved Angel in Dartmouth whose excellence so dazzled the *Guide* in 1979 that it invoked Isaac Watts' line, 'praise sits silent on our tongues'.

Since relinquishing his Dartmouth enterprise Jaine has been organising the annual Oxford Food Symposium, editing the best newsletter on food in Britain and running a bakery in Devon, thus becoming the first editor to be able to discourse authoritatively on the provenance and virtues of a restaurant roll. And how well he does it. His assessment of the bread provided by Christian Delteil at L'Arlequin soars into a minor dissertation: 'a Granary-style flour (though malt was hardly perceptible); an unglazed crust that is deep, chewy and flavourful; a dough of good texture and tasting as if it had been made with a leaven rather than only yeast. Purists would have said it is too rough for so fine a setting, but what taste, what enjoyment of basics! The crust was a little too thick, but why cavil?'

It has always been a physical impossibility for the *Guide*'s editor to inspect every establishment himself. Most of the entries are based on the 10,000 reports sent in annually by readers. When Jaine has actually been to a restaurant and eaten a meal himself, it shows. He speaks with authority and without hesitation; when he's cobbling together entries from the files he is less happy. The reports are more disjointed than they have been in the past, the prose often lumpy and unleavened. Jaine's sentences are not so elegant as Driver's, nor so crisp and direct as Drew Smith's.

The looseness of the writing is not improved by the editor's penchant for standing sentences on their heads and peppering his pages with obscuring negatives: 'Reports have been reassuring that the food is rarely unsatisfactory... referred to also has been the incompetence of the staff... *haute cuisine* this is not... the cooking has not received invariable adulation... the wine list is nascent and growing... rare are suggestions of short cuts.' This Bo-Peepspeak would have had that master of plain English Raymond Postgate reaching testily for a corrective pencil.

If he is no great shakes as a wordsmith, Jaine's culinary instincts are unassailable. He is dismissive of establishments which justify high prices by providing lots of fussy extras; he dislikes fashionably flavoured sauces, media chefs with unshaven chins who insult their customers, and food plagiarism that leads to zany combinations constructed more for the photographer than the palate. This year, by the way, the designer-ingredients obligatory on every arriviste menu appear to be sea-urchin sauce, lentils, samphire and polenta.

As usual, the *Guide* yields rich pickings for students of eccentricity. My own personal award for Lunatic Dish of the Year goes to the cook who created salmon mousse stuffed with frogs' legs. And I'm happy to report that Tom Jaine carries on a useful tradition of the *Guide* by unleashing comments which are so delicately and equivocally phrased that you really can't tell whether they imply approval or rebuke—or are some kind of coded warning.

Best example for 1990 is the one that goes: 'There are many expressions of the Longs' identity, from the rocking chair and resident teddy bear in the lobby to Ann's pictures on the wall and Ian's unmissable *bonhomie* in bar and dining room'.

Environment Special

has been made or is deemed to have been made, the Central Government or any person interested may, after expiration of two years from the date of the orders granting the first compulsory licence, or as the case may be, the date of the grant of the first licence under Sec-88, apply to the Controller for an order revoking the patent on the ground that the reasonable requirements of the public with respect to the patented inventions have not been satisfied or that the patented invention is not available to the public at a reasonable price. (3)—The Controller, if satisfied that the reasonable requirements of the public with respect to the patented inventions have not been satisfied or that the patented invention is not available to the public at a reasonable price, may make an order revoking the patent.

Sometimes it is essential to use a particular patent in the interest of the country by the Government or any person authorised by the Central Government for that; Sec-47 and 100 of the Act provide the required power so that the purpose can be served. It provides as follows:

> 47—The grant of a patent under this Act shall be subject to the condition that—(1) any machine, apparatus or other article in respect of which the patent is granted or any article made by using a process in respect of which the patent is granted, may be imported or made by or on behalf of the Government for the purpose merely of its own use; (2) any process in respect of which the patent is granted may be used by or on behalf of the Government for the purpose merely of its own use; (3) any machine, apparatus or other article in respect of which the patent is granted or any article made by the use of the process in respect of which the patent is granted, may be made or used, any process in respect of which the patent is granted may be used, by any person, for the purpose merely of experiment or research including the imparting of instructions to pupils; and (4) in the case of a patent in respect of any medicine or drug, the medicine or drug may be imported by the Government for the purpose merely of its own use or for distribution in any dispensary, hospital or other medical institution maintained by or on behalf of the Government or any other dispensary, hospital or other medical institution which the Central Government may, having regard to the public service that such dispensary, hospital or medical institution renders, specify in this behalf by notification in the Official Gazette.

100(1)—Notwithstanding anything contained in this Act, at any time after an application for a patent has been filed at the Patent Office or a patent has been granted, the Central Government and any person authorized in writing by it, may use the invention for the purpose of Government in accordance with the provisions of this Chapter. (6) The right to make, use, exercise and vend an invention for the purpose of Government under sub-section (1) shall include the right to sell the goods which have been made in exercise of that right, and a purchaser of goods so sold, and a person claiming through him, shall have the power to deal with the goods as if the Central Government or the person authorized under sub-section (1) were the patentee of the invention.

To conclude, the principles of the Patent System of India may be summerised by mentioning a few important Sections (3, 4 & 5) in a nut shell. These Sections deal with the inventions as per the definition of the Indian Patent Act but still no patent shall be allowed on these inventions. Sec-3 deals with the protection of the morality and public health, undue expolitation by just showing a new use of a known thing or contrary to well established natural laws or substance obtained by mere admixture or mere arrangement or rearrangement or duplication of known device or method and process of testing or method of agriculture or horticulture or process for treatment of human beings by medical, surgical curative process. No patent shall be granted in respect of an invention relating to atomic energy and substance intended for use, or capable of being used, as food or as medicine or drug or substance prepared or produced by chemical processes including alloys, optical glass semiconductors and inter-metallic compounds.

There is also some restriction on patents relating to an invention which in the opinion of Central Government is relevant for defence purposes.

From the aforesaid discussions it is now sufficiently clear that various Sections of our Patents Act provide restrictions to the abuse of monopoly. Our country being poor, can not allow to be exploited by foreigners.

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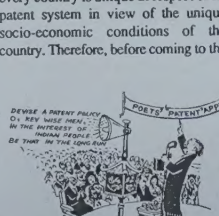
thinking regarding his particular technical problem without going through tedious, expensive and time consuming research, by way of spending negligibly small time and having some patience to search his requirements through the available patent documents which may not be available in the technological books;

3. The third advantage is that an ordinary person may not have any technological problem as such but intellectually he may have some innovative qualities in a particular line and so if he wanted to engage himself for any research of his choice he can have most advanced intellectual knowledge of a particular field from the available patent literature of the whole world within his reach. One would agree that it is a great advantage for the developing and under-developed countries in particular and the whole world in general.

4. The forth, by that the intellectual knowledge provided by a particular patent shall automatically be transferred in to the domain of public property after the expiry of the monopoly right.

Principles behind a patent system

So far, it has been stated in a nut shell, the patent system vis-a-vis the whole world. Now we are to discuss the Indian Patent System in a sense that each and every country is unique in respect of its patent system in view of the unique socio-economic conditions of the country. Therefore, before coming to the principles of Indian Patent System we should have a quick look at the system as such. In doing so, let us take India as a developing country, though some of the world technologists prefer to stamp India as a developed country. Since the patent system is not created in the interest of a particular inventor but in the interest of the national economy, sufficient consideration is necessary to find out what return the society receives for the grant of a monopoly. In this regard, mention may be made of the Patents & Designs Amendment Bill of 1919 of the United Kingdom which contemplates as follows:



"The object of granting patents for new inventions is to benefit the trade or industry of the United Kingdom. For this purpose it is not enough to reward the inventor; it is also necessary to secure that new inventions be brought into commercial use without delay. To bring a new invention into commercial use, requires in many cases, the co-operation of the capitalist and the readiest way of securing this co-operation is of monopoly. A monopoly contrary to the common la can only be justified by consideration moving to the The consideration justifying t of a monopoly for a few in is not only the disclosure public of information which use when the period of m expires but the benefit to trad new invention being brou commercial use during tha The public, therefore, are en have the monopoly so fran guarded that they are not dep this consideration. The real d is to prevent the abuse of th monopoly without so restrict to deter the capitalist from fi the inventor."

The observation just menti absolutely applicable to our cou well before understanding the principles of the Indian Patent It is now well accepted in the wo the exclusive privilege sho granted to the inventors as a rew their inventions, only when the

If the patent system is abolished, then—

The fear of competition will deter investment for indigenous production; and though initially cost of importation may be less than indigenous manufacture but it will be ultimately against national interest—because excessive dependence on imports will impede setting up of indigenous manufacture.

Therefore, even though it is a fact that making inventions and the development of new ideas is inherent in human mind and would continue even without any legal protection, it is now universally accepted that a patent system is the best way to encourage inventions. In this re there is an example of Nether which abrogated its patent syst the year 1869. The result was th export trade of manufactured g came practically to a stand still. the country realized its mistak re-introduced the national system in 1912.

A country, therefore, must h patent system balanced in such a that on the one hand it protect indigenous manufacturers and o other it does encourage the forei to invest in the country for a sp economic growth.

economy can be benefited out of that exclusive right, i.e., the *quid pro quo* which the society receives out of the said monopoly. To obtain that goal the country must be technologically advanced to work on the benefits brought forth by the monopoly. This can be achieved by the diffusion of scientific and technical education and the number of persons reaching high proficiency by such education. The country must have massive industrial production which could absorb the benefit of the education and must develop the instinct for research and impetus for direction to useful and productive channels.

The country must have speculative capital which is forthcoming for being risked in investment in new venture and for profitable utilization of such industries. The patented invention must be worked in the country which grants the monopoly right. It goes without saying that if the industrialists or the entrepreneurs are not sufficiently acquainted with the advantages of the patent system the real spirit of granting monopoly may ultimately ruin the national economy as such.

There is no doubt that the exploitation of the patent system is directly proportional to the techno-economic conditions of a particular country. There comes a peculiar chain. Only a highly industrialized country with a healthy national economy and high standard of living can efficiently exploit a patent system, which in turn provides new avenues for research and technical inventions in various fields. The conditions are just reversed if the country is under-developed or a developing one with its industrialists reluctant to exploit the advantages of the patent system. Not only that, if a country is developing and the psychology of the industrialists and entrepreneurs are not sufficiently imaginative to exploit the advantages of the patent system, the country is only exposed to be exploited by industrially advanced countries by taking advantage of the said developing country's own patent system.

Therefore, while on the one side, the guiding principle in framing a patent system should be based on the socio-economic conditions of a particular country, on the other side its industrialists and entrepreneurs must be bold enough to come forward to exploit the advantages of the patent system.

I needs some explanation to why a country is exposed for exploitation when it is techno-economically reluctant to exploit its own patent system. To know this, we must understand why the foreigners are interested to take patents in any country in general and in India in particular. One might be astonished to know that out of a total of abouts 3500 patent applications filed in India per year more than 2500 belong to the foreigners. To be exact, I am telling the statistics for the year 1988-89 about the number of applications filed by the foreigners and those filed by the Indians with a countrywise break up.

1.	Commonwealth countries other than UK	147
2.	UK	237
3.	America	974
4.	Europe	1032
5.	Africa	4
6.	Asia	127
	Total	2521

which is 70.07% of the total applications filed, and

7.	India	1077

which constitute only 29.93%.

It is a well recognized fact that the foreigners are taking patents to other countries for two main reasons. Firstly, they are doing business in those countries and so, obviously, they want to patent their products or processes for monopoly right; and secondly, they get absolutely protected in the export market through the patent system of those countries. Some times it happens that the imported article in a country is cheaper than that manufactured in that country. This situation is exploited by the patent holding foreigners. This is because, even if the indigenous articles are costlier than those imported, they are likely to be encouraged because in the long run it would prove to be advantageous to the national economy in—

(a) saving foreign exchange;

(b) absorbing the labour

(c) utilizing country's scientific and technical talent;

(d) utilizing indigenous raw materials not hitherto used which in turn would have beneficial repercussions on other industries, thereby opening new avenues in industry;

(e) increasing technical knowledge by the establishment of new industries working on the new invention; and

(f) utilizing byproducts, leading to diversified economy.

From the above discussion it is now clear that if a country is to be socio-economically benefited out of its patent system, it can be achieved in two ways—firstly the infra-structure of the country must be accommodative of the new intellectual knowledge and the industrialist must be imaginative and prepared to take risk for the exploitation of the patent system, and secondly the guiding principles of the patent system

reasonable requirements of the public with respect to the patented invention have not been satisfied or that the patented invention is not available to the public at a reasonable price, may make an order that the patent be endorsed with the words 'Licence of right'.

(E) There are also certain patents which deem to be endorsed with the words 'Licence of right', obviously to check the abuse of monopoly which is specified under Sec-87 and provides as follows:

87(1)—Notwithstanding any thing content in this Act,—

(a) every patent in force at the commencement of this Act in respect of inventions relating to—(i) substance used or capable of being used as food or as medicine or durg; (ii) the methods or processes for the manufacture or production of any such substance as is referred to in sub-clause (1); (iii) the methods or processes for the manufacture or production of chemical substances (including alloys, optical glass, semiconductors and inter-metallic compounds), shall be deemed to be endorsed with the words 'Licence of right' from the commencement of this Act or from the expiration of three years from the date of sealing of the patents under the Indian Patents and Designs Act, 1911, whichever is latter; and

(b) every patent granted after the commencement of this Act in respect of any such invention as is referred to in Sec-5 shall be deemed to be endorsed with the words 'Licences of right' from the date of expiration of three years from the date of sealing of the patent.

Sec-66 of the Patents Act deals with a special provision to check mischievous and prejudicial patents used to exploit either States or the public which provides as follows:

66—Where the Central Government is of the opinion that a patent or the mode in which it is exercised is mischievous to the States or generally prejudicial to the public, it may, after giving the patentee an opportunity to be heard, make a declaration to that effect in the official Gazette and thereupon the patent shall be deemed to be revoked.

There is, however, another Section (Sec-89) which empowers the Controller to revoke the patent for non-working of the Patent which contemplates as follows:

89(1)—Where, in respect of a patent, compulsory licence has been granted or the endorsement 'Licence of right'

Safeguards to be taken before filing patent application

The invention is the ultimate result of some sort of technical problem faced by some individual or an industry. It is, therefore, likely that there might be an invention already patented and documented with the patent office. The prospective inventor, therefore, should first visit the Patent Office and search the available patent documents all over the world with the help of officers of the Patent Office. He should also take the help of the technical library of the Patent Office. By doing so he can exactly find out from where he is to start his research, if at all necessary, to obtain a solution to the problem he is faced with.

Now suppose the prospective inventor has not found out any specific solution of his particular problem from available documents, then he should start his research. And supposing at a certain stage he finds out some technically viable clues to a suitable method without details, he should immediately file a provisional patent application with the Patent Office stating the method in essence. It will protect his invention from the date of his provisional application. After that he gets an interim period of 12 months (plus three months extension) for filing his complete specification and so can comfortably proceed with his research work for further development of his invention. Now if any inventor has not searched the patent documents or technical books before proceeding with his research, he should and must do that at least before filing his complete specification, otherwise he may have to face the consequential disappointment.

should be framed keeping in view the aforementioned salient points so that the country is not open to foreigners for economical and social exploitation.

Indian patent system

Now, let us discuss the salient features of the Indian Patent System. The present Patent Act was amended and enacted in the year 1970 and is in force since 1972. When the Act was amended, the already discussed features were broadly taken into consideration and thereby many loopholes in the previous Act of 1911 were avoided. The salient points as of now are:

(A) The 'term of the patent' is dealt in Sec-53 of the Act, which can be said to be unique in the world barring a few countries. Sec-53 (1) provides 'Subject to the provisions of this Act, the term of every patent granted under this Act shall—

(a) in respect of an invention claiming the method or process of manufacture of a substance, where the substance is intended for use, or is capable of being used, as food or as a medicine or drug, be *five years* from the date of sealing of the patent, or *seven years* from the date of the patent whichever period is shorter; and

(b) in respect of any other invention, be *fourteen years* from the date of the patent.

As already discussed, the risk of exploitation of the patent system of any country by the foreigners is always there. Now, since food, medicine and drugs are vital for public health, the said exploitation in these areas could be comparatively more hazardous to public welfare. Therefore, by introducing the said Sec-53 in the Indian Patents Act we have greatly avoided the risk of being exploited. But this is only the half protection for the public, the other half rests on the capabilities of industrialists.

The revised term of Indian patents created a hue and cry in the foreign countries. Out of them, USA has taken a serious view of it and branded India as a bad trader under the provision of Sec-301 of their Trade Act.

(B) *Compulsory licence:* In order to prevent the abuse of monopoly imported by the patent system there must be some provisions in the law itself. Compulsory licence may fulfil that purpose if efficiently applied. This is served by Sec-84 of the Act which provides:

84(1)—At any time after the expiration of three years from the date of the sealing of a patent, any person interested may make an application to the Controller alleging that the reasonable requirements of the public with respect to the patented invention have not been satisfied or that the patented invention is not available to the public at a reasonable price and praying for the grant of a compulsory licence to work the patented invention. (5) The Controller, if satisfied that the reasonable requirements of the public with respect to the patented invention have not been satisfied or that the patented invention is not available to the public at a reasonable price, may order the patentee to grant a licence upon such terms as he may deem fit.

(C) Sec-83 in this regard provides some sort of restriction to the patentee for working of the patent in India which thus contemplates as follows:

83—Without prejudice to the other provisions contained in this Act in exercising the powers conferred by this Chapter, regard shall be had to the following General considerations, namely—

(a) that patents are granted to encourage inventions and to secure that the inventions are worked in India on a

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Principles of Indian patent system

T.K. CHATTOPADHYAY

Patent system plays a vital role in the industrial growth of a country. The article indicates at the basic principles involved in the patent system of a country, particularly in reference to a developing country like India. The discussion has become more relevant in the context of current controversy over intellectual property rights and the contentious Super 301 clause of the US Omnibus Trade Act.

THE CURRENT controversy over intellectual property rights and the various pressures on Indian Government to change its policy in this area, has made the indepth study of the Indian Patent System more relevant than ever before.

Before actually coming to the Principles of Indian Patent System, let us first discuss the basic philosophy behind the Patent System as such. Patents may broadly be defined as statutory grants of monopoly for a given period, for working on an invention and marketing the resulting product within the territorial limits of the country for exclusive benefit of the inventor. The idea may be better indicated by stating that a patent legally invalidated others than the patentee or the assignee or licensee of the patentee from manufacturing, selling, public using or imitating the patented art, process, method, manner of manufacture, machine, apparatus, articles and substance produced by manufacture.

Monopoly right

Now the question is why this peculiar advantage is conferred on to the patentee by depriving the public? The answer to this question may be broadly frame in to following points. The privilege of monopoly is the best way to encourage inventions and stimulate technical progress—

1. by encouraging research resulting into invention;

2. by inducing an inventor/ researcher to disclosel his invention instead of keeping it as a trade secret;

3. by offering reward for the expenses of developing the invention to the stage at which it is commercially practicable; and

4. by providing an inducement to invest capital in new linesof production which might not appear profitable if many competing producers embarked on them simultaneously.

Therefore, the monopoly right obtainable by the patentee is definitely offering prospect of good profit. Whenever an useful or economically viable invention is made the prospect of good profit will have a tendency to bring-forth new ideas at an earlier date than would otherwise have occured. As such the patent system tends to encourage and maintain a continuous flow of invetions which in turn breeds further inventions and thus the pace of inventive activity, research and development of a country is accelerated. Since the industrialists are forced to forge ahead to improve their machine, process, etc, they are encouraged to forge expansion of the industry, resulting in an increase in employment, national wealth and living standard. All these benefits ultimately to the public. The exploitation of patent system is entirely dependent on the level of socio-economic and technical advancement of any country.

There is another vital utility of the patent system which is directly beneficial to the public, irrespective of the technological exploitation of any invention. This advantage can be broadly underlined as—

1. Since technological knowledge availabe from the patent literature is current and spread over the whole world, any person from the public when faced with some technological problem, before going for a research in that field can go through the available patent documents of the world. Therefore, the system is beneficial to him in two ways, firstly, he can verify immediately that whether the available technological knowledge from the patent documents is sufficient to solve his problem and therefore, he can arrange for assignment or licensing i.e., some sort of legal authorization from the patentee. Secondly, he can avoid the unnecessary wastage of valuable time and money;

2. The second advantage is that any person can have immediate current knowledge of the world's intellectual

NEW DELHI

Eroding Political Support for 'Structural Adjustment'

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Time seems to be running out for the 'structural adjustment' programme much faster than its advocates had bargained for. The broad-based opposition to the Dunkel proposals, including within the ruling party and even the government, which has compelled the prime minister to constitute a special cabinet committee headed by the minister for human resource development is a significant straw in the wind.

THE drive for the so-called 'liberalisation' of the economy launched with great gusto by Rajiv Gandhi after he won a massive majority in parliament petered out in about two years. The much more ambitious structural adjustment programme for the economy on which the minority government headed by Narasimha Rao embarked immediately after its formation does not look like going beyond one year. There are among its advocates those who continue to claim that the structural adjustment programme will eventually "lead the country to green pastures" even though "the grass immediately ahead seems to be getting paler and drying up". They still place their faith in the promises held out by foreign advisors and financiers of the programme that after the transition period of two years indicated by them when the programme was launched everything will be fine. However, many, including those part of the present political-power set-up, are upset by what some hectoring foreign advisors are now saying. These visitors glibly refer to the experience which India should emulate—such as that of Mexico which took 10 years to complete its IMF-sponsored structural adjustment programme and Brazil which took inflation rates of 900 per cent in its stride while the government in India is obsessed with a mere 15 to 20 per cent inflation rate.

There is, in fact, strong disinclination among all shades of political opinion in the country, not excluding many in the Congress(I) itself, to strictly adhere to the imperatives of the structural adjustment programme as ordained by the foreign creditors. The government, however, seems to draw its inspiration from the World Bank which has advised that "governments do well to capitalise on the broad, politically short-lived mandate for reform that crisis confers by front-loading the reform programme" and further that "erring on the side of speed appears to be best. Speed also makes sense if political opportunity for reform is unlikely to last." Time, however, appears to be running out for the Narasimha Rao government much sooner than it had bargained for. There are clear indications of nervousness in the ruling circles.

The Uruguay Round of GATT negotiations on global trade has in particular queered the pitch for the government. The director-general of GATT, Arthur Dunkel has come out with a 'take it or leave it' package which, while leaving sufficient scope for the developed countries to make adjustments in their positions, has shown scant regard for all the reservations expressed by the developing countries. In spite of the attempt in the commerce ministry and the vociferous urgings by industry and trade organisations, to submit to the Dunkel package, the government was forced to ask for more time to give its view because of the dissenting voices raised within the cabinet itself. A cabinet committee headed by the human resources development minister, Arjun Singh, who otherwise had nothing to do with this matter, was constituted to look into the Dunkel package. The committee proceeded to invite leaders of major political parties, industry and trade organisations and prominent citizens for discussions. The commerce ministry had actually moved to accept the Dunkel proposals "as the only option" in the final phase of GATT negotiations which started in Geneva on January 13. This move has now been stalled.

The provisions of the Dunkel package are sinister. According to the expert non-official body, the National Working Group on Patents, which has made an in-depth study of the Dunkel package, it threatens the Latin Americanisation of the East and the South. On trade related intellectual property rights (TRIPS) the sovereign right of the developing countries to exclude certain matters from patentability in order to serve their national interests is completely taken away. The Dunkel draft treats import of a patented product to be equivalent to the working of the patent in the country. It also abolishes the safeguard of compulsory licensing. No obligations are imposed on patent-holders. On the other hand, the burden of obligations on the developing countries is increased. The 'burden of proof' has been explicitly shifted from the plaintiff alleging violation of intellectual property rights to the defendant. The Indian Patents Act, 1970 will have to be extensively changed to harmonise it with the Dunkel package on TRIPS. The draft provides for cross-retaliation if the country fails to bring its law in conformity with the TRIPS agreement. The draft agreement also transfers dispute settlement from WIPO to GATT, in violation of the declaration of Punta Del Est. Any kind of differential treatment for developing countries in view of their low level of technological development is rejected.

It provides only for a transitional arrangement—a time-bound mechanism aimed at enabling governments to bring their national laws into conformity with the TRIPS draft. Developing countries like India are given 10 years to change their laws. The draft, however, takes away the benefit of even this transitional arrangement through a 'pipe-line protection' clause under which subject matters excluded so far from patentability will have to be accepted from January 1993 itself for the purpose of grant of protection from the year 2003 for the remaining duration of rights effective from the date of filing of the patent application In other words, the claim that the TRIPS transitional arrangements involve a concession to the developing countries is unfounded. Pharmaceutical companies have pointed out that it takes 10 years from the date of filing of a patent to market a pharmaceutical product which would mean that in any case protection would only be necessary from the year 2003 onwards Many of the existing technology develop

ment projects being pursued in public research laboratories and in-house R and D establishments will have to be abandoned if the Dunkel proposals on TRIPS come into force. Another clear implication of the proposed transitional arrangement will be that in the areas of technology protected by applications for patents filed in 1993 for acceptance in 2003 no investment will be undertaken by local enterprises.

As regards trade related investment measures (TRIMS), the Dunkel proposals, if accepted, will force India to lift all restrictions on foreign investment. While offering national treatment to external investors, it would not place any obligations on the latter relating to export promotion, use of local raw-materials, or any other performance criteria. The impact of these proposals would be that foreign investment will enter mainly low priority sectors or areas with high turnover to investment ratios. Foreign capital would merely create conditions for greater drain of foreign exchange resources.

The impact of the Dunkel proposals would be manifold on the agricultural sector. No distinction is made between subsidies to promote self-reliance and food security and those to boost exports of agricultural products. Acceptance of the Dunkel package will make it practically impossible for the government to give any form of price support to farmers, as it prohibits support beyond 10 per cent of the value of agricultural output in the developing countries. At the same time, subsidies for agriculture which would in reality be used by the developed countries in support of their own producers would not come under the purview of the proposals. Input subsidies for farmers will also not be possible since the Dunkel proposals allow them only for very restricted groups of farmers.

The public distribution system in India will have to be dismantled since food aid will have to be limited on the basis of nutritional criteria. The government will be forced to allow import of agricultural commodities since the removal of all non-tariff barriers and tariffication on the basis of differences existing in 1986-88 between domestic and international prices and its reduction has been made obligatory for the developing countries as well. The government will not have the freedom to take measures to protect the farmers from the grave consequences of these imports since the very limited safeguards which are available have been clearly laid down. Further, Dunkel demands that a minimum market access of 2 per cent of domestic consumption has to be given by 1993 and this is to be increased to 3.33 per cent by the year 2003, which will lead to further drain of foreign exchange.

In the services sector, Dunkel emphasises liberalisation of only those services in which the developed countries have a distinct comparative advantage (banking, insurance, communications, transport, etc). This would obstruct the development of key services in the developing countries. Dunkel provides for service enterprises of developed countries to be treated on an equal footing with domestic enterprises of the developing countries. The free movement of skilled and unskilled labour, a service area in which developing countries may have a comparative advantage, is controlled by the stringent immigration laws of developed countries which are, of course, not to be touched.

Then there are the invidious GATT rules. Article XVIII:B pertaining to the use of quantitative restrictions by developing countries to overcome their balance of payments difficulties has been rendered totally ineffective in the Dunkel package. Special provisions have been provided only for the least developed countries as recognised by the United Nations. The withdrawal of the special status for other developing countries would create a situation where spurious equality of treatment would be applied to unequal participants in the world economy—the developed and the developing countries. The GATT integrated disputes settlement system and the Understanding on Rules and Procedures governing settlement of disputes as proposed in Dunkel draft is completely unacceptable, when viewed against the background of the fact that the GATT machinery is going to adjudicate issues which would compromise the sovereignty of countries. Statements to the effect that India would benefit from the new Disputes Settlement System (DSS) are totally irresponsible, because the DSS provides for a system of cross-retaliation. Improvements elsewhere, if there are any, were already put in place by the GATT decision of April 12, 1989 (L/6489) entitled 'Improvements to the GATT Dispute Settlement Rules and Procedures'. The inclusion of the same procedures in the Dunkel draft has grave implications, since the DSS is meant for adjudicating disputes over trades in goods. It is now to be extended to new areas like TRIPS, TRIMS and Services. For example, in case of a dispute, if a request for establishing a GATT panel is made, it is the GATT secretariat which is empowered to propose nominations to the panel. Such a system would ensure that disputes involving the sovereign rights of countries will be decided by a body over whose constitution the developing countries will have little control. The GATT DSS will be used to legislate on the basis of the GATT secretariat's interpretation of issues of crucial significance. Since the GATT agreement is proposed to be ratified through a single protocol, it does not allow any one member-country to exercise its sovereign right to opt out of agreements which are contrary to its interests (e g, TRIPS, TRIMS, etc). There is no reason why the practice of having separate agreements on each issue area which would require separate ratification should not be continued.

The commerce ministry is believed to have advised the cabinet to accept the Dunkel proposals on the ground that what is possible in the GATT round are only "minor adjustments and fine tuning" and that an international accord on the basis of Dunkel package may help us to "buy peace" in trade relations with the developed countries. This is clearly unacceptable. Already the people are beginning to rise in protest against the policy of capitulation under the structural adjustment programme. The left parties have voiced their opposition and BJP too has criticised the Dunkel proposals. Reservations have been voiced within the cabinet itself and they have led to the setting up of a special cabinet committee to make a close examination of the proposals.

The danger is that the developed countries and the international financial institutions, taking advantage of the political and economic vulnerability of India at present, will try to side-track opposition to the Dunkel proposals with false promises of large-scale financial flows and transfer of technologies for the so-called modernisation of the economy to satisfy the consumerist demands of a thin upper stratum in the country's dual society. The moves, open and surreptitious, of powerful lobbies at work within the government and of business interests with strong collaboration links with multinationals have also queered the pitch for the government in the GATT negotiations. It is necessary, therefore, that the prime minister must himself come out in the open on the Indian position on the GATT round and his statement must be presented to and debated in the coming session of parliament.

also 'clarifies' Article XVIII in a manner which makes it much more difficult for developing countries to use quotas and other protective devices. Most importantly, by drawing up TRIPS and GATS as agreements different from GATT, he avoids the need to extend the existing special provisions to the new agreements, and also fails to provide comparable new safeguards.

Adverse to LDCs

Among the issues in GATT proper, developing countries expected to gain most from the phasing out of the Multi-Fibre Agreement (MFA) which allows developed countries to impose discriminatory restrictions on textile imports inconsistent with GATT rules. Dunkel's proposals in this regard promise a 10-year phase-out period but in such a slow manner that India, for example, will have to wait the full 10 years to receive significant gains, there being no benefit at all in the first seven years. Here, as elsewhere in the negotiations, the US and Dunkel used divisions in the ranks of the developing countries to push through the proposals, pitting in this instance the high quota, high wage producers like South Korea and Hong Kong against the others.

On TRIMS, which forms part of the agreement on trade in goods, the Dunkel proposals are a multinational's dream. These seek to remove 'trade restrictive and distorting investment measures' and extend 'equal national treatment'. As an illustrative list makes clear, offending measures include any restriction on multinational companies which requires them to use a minimum of local content in production, or imposes on them any export obligation. These are highly significant concessions which substantially reduce the bargaining power of host nations *vis-a-vis* MNCs, and are likely to have adverse BOP consequences for many developing countries, including India. Developing countries will have to comply with this requirement within five years. But, because TRIMS are part of GATT proper, there is in this case some defence possible under the diluted provisions of Article XVIII for developing countries claiming balance of payments difficulties.

No such defence is available in the separate GATS and TRIPS agreements. The first of these requires that foreign service enterprises be treated on an equal national footing with domestic enterprises. But the ruling out of free cross-border movement of persons ensures that this benefit goes almost entirely to developed country enterprises in capital intensive areas such as banking, insurance, communications and transport where they have comparative advantage. In deference to developing country demands, some vague provisions have been made to allow temporary migration of skilled manpower to developed countries, but even these have been hedged by requirements of reciprocity, a concept little used in the rest of the Dunkel draft.

On TRIPS, which has led to the strongest opposition to GATT in India, there is almost a total sell-out to the US position with a severe curtailment of the sovereign right of nations to exclude, in order to serve their specific national interests, certain subject matter from patentability. The TRIPS draft is forthright in stating that "patents shall be available for any invention, whether products or processes" and "patent rights enjoyable without discrimination as to the place of invention, the field of technology and whether products are imported or locally produced". The draft sets a minimum expiration period for patents at 20 years, dispenses with even the mention of compulsory licensing, and shifts the burden of proof from plaintiff to defendants in the case of disputes involving process patents.

Implications for India

The implications for India are mainly concentrated in three areas. The first relates to the awarding of both product and process patents for all categories of inventions, including in areas like pharmaceuticals which have hitherto come under only process patents in India. The Indian Patents Act of 1970 will have to be extensively changed for this, and it is likely that many existing technology development projects would be abandoned even while future innovation would be adversely affected, with associated effects on our pattern of domestic industrialisation and productivity growth. The second area pertains to agriculture, and covers the granting of product and process patents to all bio-technological innovations including micro-organisms, and all non-biological and micro-biological processes for the production of plants and animals. This means that all plant and animal varieties developed outside purely natural surroundings can be patented, and further that even natural plant varieties should be protected by a *sui generis* patent system. This has the potential implication that soon Indian farmers may have to pay royalty in some form for any new crop that they grow. And third, Dunkel's definition of working a patent to include imports allows foreign firms to refuse granting patent rights and insisting on access through import of goods. This could mean much worse terms for technical collaboration and may even lead to technological blackmail in critical areas.

In sum, the Dunkel draft extends GATT to several areas of purely domestic policy unrelated to trade and provides a considerably worse deal to developing countries like India than the existing clauses of the previous GATT rounds. It reflects clearly an international power structure in which the interests of developing countries are accorded next to no importance. Obviously, in such a context the need is for a policy response that retains a hard-headed nationalism even while dealing pragmatically with the situation. What has been the government of India's response to this draft? After a period of silence on the issue, on January 12, minister of state for commerce Chidambaram held a press conference in which he attacked the Dunkel draft for being one-sided and against the interests of developing countries. Interestingly, however, this came three days after a note written by his own ministry, and apparently seen and approved by him, was presented to cabinet. According to commerce ministry sources, this note presented a very different picture from the minister's public stance, suggesting that the overall results are the best we can hope for in the present circumstances. The note apparently suggested that the concession required of India in matters such as TRIPS, services and cross-retaliation could be set against the advantages we could reap from the liberalisation of agricultural trade, even though the MFA changes would not involve significant gains for us. The note therefore proposed that if acceptance of the Dunkel package without substantial changes emerges as the consensus option, as is likely, India should accept it.

Defeatist Response

Even given the bleak international context, this appears to be a disturbingly defeatist approach, which does not adequately take note of the options still available to the country. Nor does it specify the areas in which India should insist on certain conditions being fulfilled as a very minimum to signing the agreement. The Indian negotiating stance at Geneva will obviously fail to generate any benefits, or even minimise the damage, for India unless a systematic and definite effort is made to ensure that some important principles and clauses in the earlier GATT agreement are retained.

The most important of these are the sanctity of a nation's legal structure, even though particular laws may need to be changed; and a special concern for the development problems of developing countries. As to the first, there should be insistence against any reversal of the burden of proof because this is repugnant to our legal structure, and such a modification would also take some sting out of our need to grant product patents while retaining process patents. As to the second, we should insist on retention without any change whatsoever of Part IV of the existing GATT agreement pertaining to trade and development, and in particular Article XVIII, providing for exceptions and concessions for balance of payments reasons, which has been considerably modified and diluted in the Dunkel draft. This is a demand which focuses on a common concern of all developing countries and is likely to attract greater support than more detailed changes.

Furthermore, the exact relation of GATT to GATS and TRIPS should be specified. If these are to be separate documents, coun-

tries should be free to sign any or all of them as they please, and India could then choose to sign GATT without opting for the other two. This is however unlikely to be conceded, and, if so, we should insist that if these are to be seen as one document, then the exceptions under Article XVIII should be equally valid for all parts of the agreement. This too is likely to get general support from developing countries. And it will allow some flexibility to India in situations of balance of payments difficulties, in terms of trade restrictions and requirements from foreign investors as well as in matters like patents, particularly if specific mention to Article XVIII is written in particular clauses such as Articles 27 and 31 of the TRIPS draft. Doing so will at least lead to modification of the requirement to treat imports as working a patent and may even allow some compulsory licensing indirectly.

If even this minimal modification cannot be wrested during the negotiations, then it is seriously worth considering whether this type of multilateralism is really advantageous to India in the current context. The problem is that concessions which we may be able or willing to make in bilateral negotiations, in return for some advantages, would under this new agreement automatically have to be extended to all signatories, leaving India with almost no room for manoeuvre or bargaining in bilateral exchanges. Under the circumstances, it may be preferable to opt for bilateral dealings in which we may actually be able to get something in return for the concessions we are forced to make.

CIVIL LIBERTIES

Ban on Reporting Kidnappings?

A G Noorani

None of the arguments advanced in support of a ban on media reporting of cases of kidnapping is convincing. Such a measure, which will breach the fundamental right to freedom of speech and expression, will benefit only the government which will be enabled to strike deals with the militants without having to bother about public criticism.

NOW that ransom has been paid for the release of a hostage in Kashmir, for the umpteenth time, will the government of India cover up its failure to evolve a coherent policy on the matter by punishing the press and, indeed, the citizen?

One signal failure of civil libertarians has been the neglect of the trends, or straws in the wind, until they are faced with a *fait accompli* which is always harder to reverse than influence a decision in the making. *The Telegraph* of December 17, 1991 carried a report by its correspondent, Pranay Sharma, which should have drawn instant and critical comment. Sharma has rendered a service by exposing a singularly illiberal decision by the government of India—a ban on "media reporting of kidnapping cases". He reported that "the proposal has been made in a new bill likely to be introduced by the centre in the current session of parliament". The bill was not introduced. But the proposal has gone far enough to be embodied in a draft bill which is ready for introduction in parliament. Criticism of the move now will be more effective than of the bill later after it is moved and becomes a matter of prestige.

The Telegraph correspondent's report is a fairly detailed one. It is clearly based on good information. He wrote:

> Sources pointed out that the centre felt that militant outfits were engaging in abductions in order to get publicity for their cause. The proposal to ban media coverage of kidnappings and make it a cognisable offence will help in preventing secessionist forces from achieving their aim.
>
> The centre, however, is worried about the media's reaction to the proposal and is holding informal talks to seek the views of members of the profession. The feedback it has received so far has not been very encouraging since most have pointed out that the ban would amount to a violation of the freedom of expression.
>
> It has also been argued that merely not reporting kidnapping incidents would not help in fighting the menace. There was also a fear that such restrictions would be extended to media coverage of other crimes.
>
> It has also been proposed to either amend the existing law under the Indian Penal Code or bring a separate law to make kidnapping punishable with death. At present, it holds a maximum penalty of seven years' imprisonment.

The media ban was to be part of the 'no exchange' policy. That policy has not been pursued. On January 17, three jailed militants were released in exchange for the release of two hostages in Kashmir. But the threat of media ban must not be ignored. It must be discussed and criticised in public. New Delhi must be told what people think of it.

In October 1988, it may be recalled, the British government used its powers under clause 13(4) of the BBC's Charter and Section 29(3) of the Broadcasting Act to forbid the BBC and the Independent Broadcasting Authority from transmitting any interviews with representatives of Sinn Fein, the Ulster Defence Association or the Irish Republican Army or any statement which incited support for such groups. Geoffrey Robertson, a leading QC, characterised even such a ban as "a serious infringement on the right to receive and impart information".

Britain does not have a written constitution, embodying a Bill of Rights, which fetter executive as well as legislative powers. But we do. Article 19(1)(a) embodies the fundamental right to freedom of speech and expression. Clause (2) of article 19 lists the grounds on which alone restrictions may be imposed on the right, provided, again, that they are "reasonable". The relevant grounds are "public order" and "incitement to an offence".

The latter clearly does not apply or else crime reports can be banished from our newspapers. The sole issue, therefore, is whether a ban on media reporting of cases of kidnapping can be characterised as a 'reasonable' restriction on the fundamental right to freedom of speech. The answer can only be in the negative. The press owes a *duty* to report them. Consider the implications. Will the ban be extended to movies, TV and video cassettes? Do they 'glorify' kidnapping? If the argument is that the kidnappers seek the 'oxygen of publicity', to use Maggie Thatcher's expression, where do we draw the line between the kidnapping of the diamond jewellers in Delhi and of officials and others in Kashmir? Deprived of publicity will the motivation also vanish? The motivation is not mere publicity. It is the release from prison of fellow militants.

One consequence of the ban will be, of course, that the government will be able to have deals with the militants without bothering about public criticism or public clamour for the release of the abducted persons. There would be a clear disproportion between the disadvantages of publicity and the dangers which a ban on publicity would involve. There is simply no rational connection between the two.

The ban, if a sweeping one, would be patently unreasonable. If restrictive in order to pass as a reasonable one, it will have loopholes. What will you ban and what will you allow to be reported? There is a fatal flaw. The judges of what is permissible will be the bureaucrats and policemen, acting in their subjective satisfaction necessarily.

We can do well without such a pernicious law. What is needed is not legislation but policy and no policy on kidnappings alone will work unless it is an integral part of a sincere policy of reconciliation with an alienated people.

That said, there is one area of restraint which should be covered, not by legislation but by understanding with the press, namely, when operations are under way for the release of kidnapped persons and publicity would foil the operations. The press has never failed to do its duty when human lives are imperilled.

GATT, the Dunkel Draft and India

JM

Dunkel has produced a draft which cleverly attempts to narrow OECD opposition by being less than generous to the US vis-a-vis European farm subsidies, but balancing this by being overly generous to the US on other issues, mainly at the cost of the developing countries. The implications for India are ominous and the response of the government of India has been disturbingly defeatist.

ARTHUR DUNKEL's draft treaty for the Uruguay Round of the General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs (GATT) is widely seen as the last chance for any breakthrough in this so far stalemated GATT Round. This round of talks has been particularly controversial because the GATT ambit is being expanded to cover not only trade in goods but also trade in services (GATS), intellectual property rights (TRIPS) and trade related investment measures (TRIMS). Further, the US demand that agricultural subsidies be reduced sharply to help American farmers had met stiff European objections and led to a virtual impasse. With his draft, Dunkel is attempting to short-circuit the tedious and seemingly endless negotiations so far. But this has only added to the controversy because he has chosen to pack all the issues into a single text on which only minor amendments will be allowed, and which countries will either have to accept or reject in its entirety. The final negotiations on the Dunkel draft began on January 13 and promise to be stormy, with the deadline for agreement extended already from February to mid-April.

Dunkel's success depends most on a resolution of the vexed issue of farm subsidies and access where the US is pitted not only against the European Community but also against Japan. Reports emanating from Geneva before Dunkel submitted his draft in end-December had suggested a broad compromise between America and Europe involving 30-35 per cent cuts in farm supports over five or six years, conversion into tariffs of all barriers on agricultural imports, and a guaranteed minimum access for farm imports of between 3 and 5 per cent of consumption. In the event, Dunkel proposed only a 20 per cent support reduction in six years along with the expected tariffication and guaranteed import access. The lower than expected farm support reduction should have pleased the European Community and angered the United States, but the first reactions were otherwise—France dubbed the draft 'unacceptable' while the US found that it did provide 'the basic ingredients for finalising the Uruguay Round'. Opposition to tariffication of agricultural products was stronger with Japan, South Korea, Canada, Switzerland, Norway and Israel objecting. And import guarantees drew strong opposition in the US from both sectional farm interests and environmental groups. Yet, on the whole, there seems to have been a considerable narrowing of the intra-OECD gap on farm issues that caused the talks to fail in end-1990. The US seems to have backed down and, as a result, the chances for a successful OECD agreement on GATT seem much brighter now than at any time since the Uruguay Round began.

However, while this prospect of a successful conclusion soon of the Uruguay Round may be cause for celebration in the developed world, it is likely to be received with much less enthusiasm in the developing countries. In fact, Dunkel has produced a draft which cleverly attempts to narrow OECD opposition by being less than generous to the US *vis-a-vis* European farm subsidies, but balancing this by being more generous than expected to the US on other issues, mainly at the cost of the developing countries. Indeed, the generally positive US first reaction, despite opposition from farmers' lobbies and grumbling by drug and textile producers, is testimony that Dunkel has managed to satisfy the most important of US interests—the multinational companies. And he has done this essentially by ignoring almost all the provisions entered in square brackets by the developing countries into the earlier draft at the negotiations stage. These concern details in GATT, TRIPS, TRIMS and GATS, but also the general structure of the agreement, in particular the disputes settlement mechanism and the possibility of cross-retaliation involving different aspects of the package.

'Equal Treatment' of Unequals

The main conceptual problem which has dogged the Uruguay Round since its inception has been how to reconcile what has hitherto been an agreement regarding cross-border trade in goods with the demand by the US that trade sanctions be permitted against those countries whose national laws serve to limit the growth and profitability of multinational companies. Moreover, since US multinationals are less competitive in the production of goods than in the production of knowledge and services, the need was to reconcile GATT with a framework which encompassed cross-border investment, trade in services, and protection of intellectual property. This attempt has encountered many difficulties, e g, the issue of whether GATT can take over functions performed by the World Intellectual Properties Organisation (WIPO), and to what extent does free trade in services imply the right of individuals to migrate across international borders?

Dunkel's draft takes the position that GATT is competent on all these issues except those that require changes in immigration laws. However, since TRIPS and GATS do not involve cross-border trade in goods and cannot therefore be related directly with GATT provisions, they have been put in separate annexures and, in principle, constitute separate agreements, with separate councils for dispute settlement. This goes some way towards meeting the developing countries' demand for de-linking these agreements and ruling out cross-retaliation across agreements. But, since such cross-retaliation was a major demand of the US, Dunkel provides for the establishment of a Multilateral Trade Organisation (MTO) as a successor to GATT which hierarchically will sit above the three separate councils for goods (GATT and TRIMS), services (GATS) and TRIPS, and will have power to authorise cross-retaliation across agreements. The net result is that unlike GATT hitherto, the MTO will not only have competence to frame policies in many areas other than trade, but will also have power to authorise trade sanctions against those countries which fail to comply by making the required change in their domestic laws.

Since, by their very nature, both immigration restrictions and the ability to mount effective trade sanctions work against the interests of developing countries and their nationals, Dunkel's basic approach is fundamentally biased. And this bias, expressed in the specious language of 'equal treatment' of unequals becomes even more evident as one goes through his draft clause by clause. In GATT as it exists currently, there is provision for special and differential treatment for developing countries, and there is also concern, particularly in Article XVIII, for certain special problems, such as balance of payments difficulties, encountered typically during the process of economic development. These provisions allow developing countries, for example, to use quota restrictions and other protective devices to contain balance of payments problems and promote development. Dunkel dilutes these provisions considerably. He distinguishes between 'developing' and 'least developed' countries, denying certain benefits to the former and in the process dividing the third world. He

Clearing the Air

The next decade will be crucial to the fate of the environment, TOM BURKE foresees, forcing politicians to make now-or-never decisions on green issues.

On Thursday 14 June, 2.3 million Britons voted for the Green Party in the Euro-elections. At 15 per cent it was the highest share of the vote won by any green party in Europe that night and the largest share of the vote ever won by any green party in a national election anywhere in the world. The surprise, even dismay, across the orthodox political spectrum was visible to all.

The emergence of the green voter has been accompanied by that of the green consumer. During the last year some 18 million people, not far short of half the adult population, claim to have made at least one product-choice on environmental grounds.

The environmental pressure-groups in Britain now rival the trade unions in numbers of members and spend four times as much money each year. Their current projections suggest that by the time of the next election their membership will have surpassed that of the trade unions and will be more than three times that of all the political parties combined.

Clearly something significant is happening in our society, and indeed across the whole of Europe. It is a very broadly based phenomenon which now involves the orthodox political parties from both Right and Left, the non-partisan pragmatists of the pressure-groups, a significant and growing proportion of the mass of ordinary people and its own high priesthood in the greens and deeper greens who make up leadership and activists in the green parties.

The green parties are generally seen as something new in the political firmament. In fact they belong to a deep and radical tradition in European political history. Most radical politics, of either Left or Right, occurs simply at the level of ideas. Too often it is a search for difference for difference's sake and drifts inevitably into intolerance and extremism.

The radicalism of the green parties is mostly of this kind. Their rapid growth does say something authentic about the deep anxieties in our society and they have undoubtedly had a catalytic effect on the greening of the other parties. But they do not yet offer themselves as serious candidates for government—even, one suspects, in their own eyes—nor do they seek to build the stable constituencies of support necessary to obtain office in a democracy. Their programmes, as the other parties endlessly point out, are assemblies of wishes with little indication of how the essential relationship between the present and the future is to be articulated.

They belong firmly in that tradition of revolutionary millenarianism so well described by Norman Cohn in *'The Pursuit of the Millennium'*. Petra Kelly is a familiar figure among the prophets who have appeared frequently in European history at moments of intense social stress. In Britain, they are the descendants of John Ball and Wat Tyler, of Winstanley and Robert Owen. It is a tradition rich in vision and ideas.

The other greening of Europe is more prosaic. It derives from the commonplace experience of ordinary people: from the intimate and daily knowledge we have of dirt and discomfort in our homes, workplaces and public spaces; from the direct experience of landscapes transformed from the familiar to the alien by intensive agriculture and mass tourism. It arises from our fears about polluted water, contaminated food or radioactive fall-out. It is reinforced by our surrogate experiences of Chernobyl, the burning of the Amazon rainforest, the *Exxon Valdez* and all the other human and environmental disasters that take place almost daily in our living-rooms.

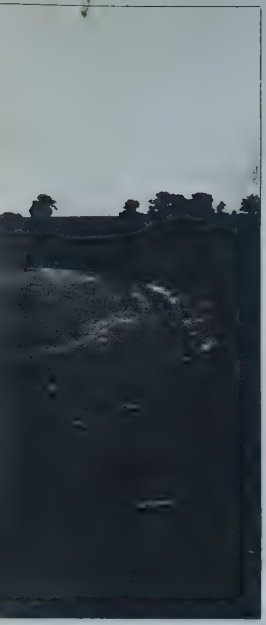
These are the experiences which drive people to join pressure-groups or to buy a greener product and, when the opportunity arises, to vote for a green party. Those politicians who hope to blunt the Green Party's thrust by attacking their policies as unknown and unworkable are deluding themselves. Few voters know very much about the policies of any political party or consider themselves equipped to pass judgment on their workability. What they do understand is what a party stands for: sound money and strong defence for the Tories, poor people and the Welfare State for the Socialists. That the Greens stand for protecting the environment is clear to everyone and it was this clarity of stance that enabled them so easily to occupy the ground previously held by the Democrats.

The changes in attitude we are witnessing on the environment in Western Europe are structural rather than a realignment of existing forces. They are a cultural rather than simply a political transformation. It is no accident that they are occurring at the same time as the equally profound changes in Eastern Europe, nor that the environment should be one of the broadest avenues to change in the East.

A new generation is giving voice to new concerns pressed upon it by the new, and intolerable, conditions under which it lives. It is inheriting the institutions and resources so painfully reconstructed by its parents in the long slog from Potsdam. In the bureaucracies and boardrooms from Galway to Gorky, the emerging leaders are those born since 1945. For the next 20 years their choices will dominate the fate of the earth as they become the arbiters of the new orthodoxy.

The Nineties will be the decade of the environment. If we do not put ourselves on to the trajectory for sustainable development within this period, it will become ever more likely that we never will. Two traditions will compete for attention, the millenarian and the pragmatic. If the pragmatists fail to deliver a green orthodoxy for the public to choose, the public will choose the millenarians with all their ominous historical precedents. ■

Radical prophet: Petra Kelly of Die Grünen ▶



Algae growth in the Norfolk Broads (inset) and Grafham Water in Cambridgeshire

many of our rivers are becoming boring. And it's going to get worse unless we do something urgently.'

The algae are spreading because their favourite food, phosphates (a combination of phosphorus and oxygen), are entering our waters faster than ever before. One hundred thousand tons of phosphate waste is dumped, all quite legally, every year. Half this amount comes from human waste, spewed into rivers by sewage works. Another quarter stems from farm fertilisers and fish farms; the rest from detergents we sluice down the sink. In most British rivers and reservoirs, levels of phosphorus have risen by one-fifth in ten years.

Friends of the Earth wants the Government to compel all water authorities to filter out phosphates from human waste, food scraps and household cleaners when it arrives at sewage treatment works. The technology isn't complex or expensive (though they allege some water authorities like to pretend it is), and it has succeeded in Sweden, Denmark, Germany and the Netherlands for the last ten years. Some American states and Switzerland ban the use of phosphates in washing powders altogether. One way to pay for filtration equipment at treatment works would be to put a phosphate tax on detergent makers and fertiliser-producers. To the relief of both, the Department of the Environment shows no sign of taking this or any other initiative to curb phosphorus levels in our waterways.

While the Government dithers, firms which make phosphate-free washing powders, sink-scourers and bath cleaners are cashing in. Rising green companies like Ecover and Ark eschew phosphates. Safeway, Sainsburys and Tesco are among the supermarkets which sell their own phosphate-free brands. Proctor and Gamble has just launched Ariel Ultra (it also uses a third less packaging and the box is recycled cardboard). Customers are enthusiastically buying these products, much to the chagrin of the rest of the detergent industry which energetically rebukes well-meaning shoppers for being taken for a ride.

What is the point of avoiding phosphates, asks the Soap and Detergent Industry Association, if most phosphorus enters the waterways through human waste and fertilisers? Sarah Blick of Ark ripostes that when it comes to 'saving planets' every little helps. 'The more people stop putting phosphates down the drain, the more our rivers will begin to look like real rivers again. Buying phosphate-free is the first tiny step towards becoming really aware of everything else you can do to save the environment.'

But the rush to buy Ark or Ecover products has been tempered by two telling drawbacks: they cost ten per cent more and many people find they don't work as well; the SDIA proclaim that adding phosphorus is the only sure way of getting rid of stains and heavy soiling. Sarah Blick says Ark's prices are gradually getting more competitive. 'We also had independent lab tests done which prove our products are just as effective, and in some cases better than leading brands. Some newspapers have carried out tests and they support us, too.'

John Pickup, of the Soap and Detergent Industry Association, claims there are presently no useful substitutes for phosphates. 'No one anywhere in the world has ever been able to solve, or significantly improve, the problem of algal growth simply by taking the phosphates out of detergents. That was an easy solution put forward in the early stages, but in practice it simply doesn't work,' he says.

'Phosphorus is an important part of life,' Pickup continues. 'Humans, animals and plants can't live without it. You take it out of water altogether and that water won't be able to support life. It will become totally sterile. If you look at most of our rivers in southern England you'll find high phosphate levels, but you won't always find algae, because they can't grow without a lot of other things. They need nitrates, sunlight, and the right water conditions. The phosphates in detergents are too insignificant in that equation to matter.'

There are ecologists who support John Pickup, saying that Britain's cloudy skies and fast-moving waters will always keep algae under control. But badly choked rivers like the Foss in North Yorkshire and the Axe near the Bristol Channel tell a different story.

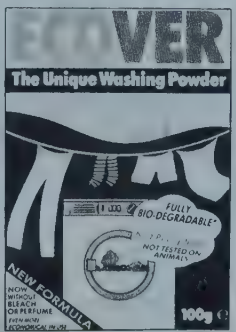
Ironically, the association's solution to the phosphate problem is the same as Friends of the Earth's: the Department of the Environment should insist that phosphates are stripped from effluent in the sewage works. But the department demurs: 'We don't think this process is necessary in all areas. Where isolated areas of inland water are susceptible, such as the Norfolk Broads, then phosphates are already taken out at the local treatment works.' While only 20 out of thousands of British sewage works currently take steps to filter out phosphate, Andrew Lees feels the Government is wrong to see galloping algae as an isolated local problem. He believes it now threatens most inland waters in the heavily populated North, Midlands and South-East, and in Cornwall and East Anglia. Lees claims that phosphates in detergents are also causing another kind of pollution, in the sea.

This problem is not from phosphorus passing through sewage outlets into the sea (in fact it encourages growth of plants vital to some kinds of fish) but, Lees points out, it is the phosphate from rocks used in soaps which, when broken down by sulphuric acid, produce an unwanted by-product—cadmium. The process is carried out by a firm called Albright and Wilson, part of the American multinational, Tennaco. As sole suppliers of phosphates to Britain's soap industry, the company has Government blessing in annually dumping 40 tons of cadmium into the Irish Sea at their plant in Whitehaven. Lees argues: 'If people stop buying phosphate in detergents, there will be no cadmium produced to go into the sea—which would be good news, as cadmium is highly persistent in the environment and builds up in the food chain. Some of the winkles on beaches near the discharge, for example, are unfit for human consumption. We certainly hope no one is eating them.'

Albright and Wilson object to being cast as polluters. They say there is natural cadmium in the sea anyway and cite a United Nations study concluding that sea disposal is acceptable as long as it is naturally dispersed in the area. The company adds, 'We've been monitoring the sea, using an independent marine biologist for 20 years now. We've never discovered an accumulation of cadmium likely to pose a threat to human health.'

Once again we witness another clash in the time-honoured battle between big business and green campaigners. Who is the average detergent-user to believe? Washing day was never so controversial.

Malcolm Stacey reported for 'You and Yours' (Radio 4).



Are green manufacturers simply cleaning up with green consumerism?

USE IN MOMENTUM

The Unit also has plans to hold children's film festivals. As part of this programme, it would adopt a high school situated near Heggodu and arrange screenings there all through the year. Other than this, it would organise screenings in many other schools of Karnataka as well.

Information and Documentation Centre

An information and documentation centre will be set up at Heggodu. It will maintain records of all the Janaspandana activities. And in addition, it will provide necessary information to all those who are interested in organising the theatre and film activities.

This centre has plans to study the impact of the project on a scientific basis towards the close of its two-year duration. With this in view, it will prepare and maintain a programme record of each activity. These records will document in as much length as possible the reactions of the organisers and the spectators of the programme, an account of the socio-economic structure of the place in question and so on.

Finally, it is better to make one thing

very clear. This is not a one-sided project organising programmes in different places. That the organisations participating in the Janaspandana in collaboration with the Ninasam continue to arrange programmes on their own even after the two-year period of the project is what is intended. That the villagers are a small time people and that they are incapable of serious communication is a foolish belief nurtured by years of cultural centralisation. The Janaspandana intends to demolish this belief, and in the most unequivocal terms.

NINASAM JANASPANDANA

RURAL THEATRE
AND
FILM PROJECT
1983-85
(Aided by The Ford Foundation)

NINASAM
Heggodu
Sagar, Karnatak-577417

THE NINASAM JANASPANDANA

THE RURAL THEATRE AND FILM PROJECT (1983-85)

AIDED BY :

THE FORD FOUNDATION
U.S.A. (G.No. 820-1128)

These days one notices a surge of new enthusiasm in drama and cinema all over Karnataka. This is particularly evident in the rural pockets of the state. Even in small villages people are coming forward to organise film-shows and stage performances. And this, despite the lack of necessary training and organisational skills ! Activities such as these, though sporadic, signal a new awareness, a new understanding of the democratic ideals. Now it is necessary to go to the aid of these rural folk, and guide them in organising their own resources and their own personnel. Which is what makes it a definite move, an act of deliberation, a streamlining of this spontaneous burst of enthusiasm. Initiate such a move, spot the sporadic events and weave them into a movement in an act of cultural decentralisation– that is what constitutes the pith of the project, the Ninasam Janaspandana.

The Janaspandana came into existence this September (1983) itself. It has two units, one for drama and the other for cinema. Its activities will be spread over a period of two years. Within this period, it envisages to organise at least one programme in each district of Karnataka.

The Janaspandana views itself only as a catalyst. Where the possibilities exist, it would help them set up organisations. And where the organisations are already in existence, it would try to open up new possibilities for them. It will use drama and cinema as its tools with a view to emphasizing the necessity of mass-media in today's life. This way, the project envisages to build up an infrastructure for the mass-media to function as best they could among the rural folk of different faiths, classes and age-groups.

The Drama Unit

In the Drama Unit of the Janaspandana, there will be a team of two trained instructors and one director. This team will be provided with the most essential stage-properties and lighting equipment for the purpose of conducting drama-workshops. In a year, the team would visit six defferent places, and in each place it would hold a workshop lasting six weeks. For this, the team would work in collaboration with a local organisation. Again, this shall be done in such a way that the latter would continue to organise activities on its own using the local talent and local resources even after the guiding team departs. And, as a prelude to organising activities like this, a special workshop will be conducted for the members of the unit. Also a play-writing workshop will be conducted at Heggodu to prepare the necessary scripts.

The Film Unit

In the Film Unit of the Janaspandana, there will be a team of cine-experts to introduce serious films to the lay audience as well as conduct film appreciation courses for the interested. This team will be provided with two portable projects, one for screening 16 mm. films and the other for 35 mm. films. In a year, the team would visit six different places, and in each place it would hold a film-festival lasting three days. In addition, it also plans to organise single-film screenings. A special film appreciation course is proposed to be held at the end of the year for the volunteers representing different local organisations.

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किमयागाराचा परिसस्पर्श

◆ मल्लिकार्जुन मुगळी

सन १९९० चा काळ निरक्षरता, दारिद्र्य आणि तीव्र पाणीटंचाईच्या दुष्टचक्रात अडकलेले बेळगाव तालुक्यातील कठणभावी गाव. सभोवती उध्वस्त -बोडके डोंगर, जिथं कधी-काळी घनदाट जंगल होतं अत्यंत निकृष्ट राहणीमान व जुनाट विचारसरणीने गांजलेले ग्रामस्थ आलेला दिवस सर्वसाठी सारखाच जानेवारी महिन्यातच पाण्याची तीव्र टंचाई पाण्यासाठी दहा-दहा मैल भटकंती. पण यावर तोडगा शोधणारा मात्र कोणीच नव्हे!

आज तेरा वर्षांच्या कालखंडानंतर मात्र तेच कठणभावी गाव आमूलाग्र बदललंय! तिथं नंदनवन फुललंय या तेरा वर्षात नेमकं घडलं तरी काय? तर एका 'किमयागाराचा' परिसस्पर्श, आणि ते किमयागार आहेत शिवाजी कागणीकर. धनगर कुटुंबात जन्मलेले आणि सर्वांशानं समाजसेवेला, विशेषत: साक्षरता आणि पाणलोट क्षेत्र विकासाच्या कार्याला वाहून घेतलेले शिवाजी कागणीकर यानी तेरा वर्षांच्या अखंड परिश्रमांनंतर कठणभावी आणि शेजारच्या बंबरगा या गावांचा चेहरामोहराच बदलून टाकलाय. उघड्या-बोडक्या डोंगरावर आता हिरवळ वाढू लागली आहे. कष्टानं जगवलेला एकेक वृक्ष आता 'मोहरू' लागलाय आणि याचा आनंद त्यांच्या चेहऱ्यावर स्पष्ट दिसू लागलाय. दहा मैलांची पाण्यासाठी भटकंती कायमची बंद झाली आहे गावकुसाजवळील तलाव आणि दोन विहिरींत मुबलक पाणी साठलंय गावातल्या शाळेतही आता नित्य शिक्षणाच्या जोडीला एक वेगळा व 'आश्वासक आवाज घुमू लागलाय कठणभावीनं 'कात' टाकल्याचं स्पष्ट दिसू लागलंय हे सर्व पाहून गेल्या तेरा वर्षांचे कष्ट, डोंगर आणि माळरानातून हिंडताना रुतलेले काटे, ओघळलेले रक्त आणि झालेल्या वेदना एका वेगळ्या सुखाची अनुभूती देत आहेत पण शिवाजी कागणीकर येथेच थांबणार नाहीत तर हा प्रवास पुढे सुरूच राहणार आहे.

समाजसेवेसाठी आजीवन वाहून घेतलेल्या शिवाजी कागणीकरांनी १९७८ साली 'जनजागरण' या सेवाभावी संस्थेची कास धरली जनजागरणच्या माध्यमातून साक्षरता, राञशाळा अंगोण्य जागृती, बालवाडी, महिला संघटन, धनगरांचे प्रबोधन आदी उपक्रमांद्वारे ते कठणभावी या दुर्गम गावात पोहोचले. कठणभावी गावातील पाणी प्रश्नाची तीव्रता पाहून जनजागरणने १९९० साली त्याच्यावर पाणलोट क्षेत्र विकासाची जबाबदारी टाकली. पाणलोट क्षेत्र विकासचे शिवपुराण पेल्याचं आव्हान कागणीकर यानी स्वीकारले आणि समर्थपणे पेललेसुद्धा!

'पाणलोट क्षेत्र विकास' प्रकल्प प्रत्यक्ष राबविण्यात आलेल्या अण्णा हजारेंच्या राळेगणसिद्धीला त्यांनी पहिल्यांदा भेट दिली. अहमदनगर येथील सेटर फॉर सायन्सलाही भेट देऊन जलसिंचन, जलसाठा सर्वधन, पाणी अडवा, पाणी जिरवा या पद्धतींचा नियोजनबद्ध अभ्यास केला. अत्यंत कमी पावसाचा प्रदेश असलेल्या अहमदनगर जिल्ह्यातील जलसिंचनाच्या प्रभावी कार्यामुळे ते प्रभावीत झाले. मुबलक पावसाचा तालुका म्हणून ओळख असलेल्या बेळगाव तालुक्यात नियोजनबद्ध पाणलोट क्षेत्र विकासाचे आडाखे त्यांनी बांधले.

वृक्ष लागवडीचा श्रीगणेशा

१९९० साली शिवाजी कागणीकर यांनी कठणभावी येथे प्रत्यक्ष कार्याला सुरुवात केली. १९९० ते १९९३ या कालखंडात त्यांनी प्रथम जंगलतोड थांबविण्यासाठी विशेष प्रयत्न केले. झाडांचे महत्त्व पटवून देण्यासाठी घरोघरी फिरले. प्रबोधनाच्या माध्यमातून ग्रामस्थांना गोबरगॅसचे महत्त्व पटवून दिले. परिणामी आज या गावात शंभर टक्के गोबरगॅस आहेत. यामुळे वृक्षतोडही बांधली ती कायमचीच. यानंतर त्यांनी 'पाणी अडवा, पाणी जिरवा' ही संकल्पना रुजविण्यासाठी प्रयत्न सुरू केला या माध्यमातून 'तुम्ही म्हणा जमीन द्या मी तुम्हाला वृक्ष देतो.' असा नारा त्यांनी दिला. जनजागरणचे अर्थसहाय्य व ग्रामस्थांचा प्रतिसाद यामुळे त्यांचा नारा प्रत्यक्षात साकारला. जणू लागला वृक्षलागवडीचा गोरदर श्रीगणेशा झाला.

डोंगर उताराच्या शेतकऱ्यांची पडीक जमीन निवडणे, उताराशी समांतर 'चर' खोदणे, या चरीच्या काठावर अथवा चरीत वृक्ष लागवड करणे या कामाला वेग आला. तेरा वर्षानंतर आज कागणीकर यांचे श्रम आणि जनजागरणचे अर्थसहाय्य यामुळे ४०० एकर पडीक जमीन पाणलोट विकास क्षेत्राखाली आली असून, या जमिनीत एकूण ४५ हजार वृक्ष 'जगविले' गेले आहेत. काजू व गिलसिडीया या प्रमुख वृक्षांबरोबरच आंबा, जांभूळ, फणस, बिब्बा आदी वृक्षांचा यात समावेश आहे.

पाणी टंचाईवर मात

डोंगर उताराबरोबर वेगाने वाहून जाणारे पावसाचे पाणी टप्पाटप्प्याने अडवून ते जमिनीत जिरविता यावे यासाठी त्यांनी शेतकऱ्यांच्या मदतीने लहानमोठ्या दगडांचे बंधारे उभारले. याला गल्ली प्लग असे संबोधलात याबरोबरच चेक डॅम, मातीचे बंधारेही आवश्यक त्या ठिकाणी बांधल्यामुळे जमिनीवी घूप थांबली. जमिनीतील पाण्याची पातळी वाढली. परिणामी डोंगर उतारावरील गवताची वाढ तसेच रब्बी पिकांचे उत्पादन वाढल्याचे शेतकऱ्यांच्या निदर्शनास आले. यामुळे गावाशेजारील तलाव व विहिरीमधील पाणीसाठाही मुबलक झाला आणि पाणीटंचाई कायमची दूर झाली.

औषधी वनस्पतींची लागवड

एकदा लोकांना जलसंवर्धनाचे महत्व पटल्यानंतर व ते वृक्षलागवडीला उत्तम प्रतिसाद देऊ लागल्यानंतर शिवाजी कागणीकरांनी आता आपला मोर्चा औषधी वनस्पतीकडे वळवलाय. काही जागरूक शेतकऱ्यांनी त्यांचा सल्ला व मार्गदर्शनानुसार गतवर्षी औषधी वनस्पतींची यशस्वी लागवड केली आहे तुळस, कांजी, कडीपत्ता, कर्दुळिंब, टर्पेको, आडुळसा, तिरगुड या औषधी वनस्पतींची लागवड बसवंत कोले यांच्या शेतात केली आहे. या औषधी वनस्पतींना पाणी पुरवठा करण्यासाठी सोनतळे खोदण्यात आले आहे. उन्हाळ्यात यातील पाण्याचा वापर केला जातो या औषधी वनस्पतींच्या वृध्याला पालापाचोळा घालून ओलावा टिकविण्याचा प्रयत्न केला आहे सर्वात महत्त्वाची गोष्ट म्हणजे दहा वर्षापूर्वी लावलेल्या काजू व आंब्याच्या झाडांना मोहोर डवरू लागलाय.

लोकशिक्षणाच्या माध्यमातून जलसंवर्धन व वृक्षलाग्वडीचा महत्व पटवून देताना प्रारंभी शिवाजी कागणीकर काहीसे 'एकला चलो रे' या पठडीतले होते आज १७ ते २२ वयोगटातील सुमारे दीस तरुणांची फौज त्यांच्यासोबत

कठणभावी गावाशेजारी प्रयत्नपूर्वक फुलविलेली गर्द वनराई.

शिवाजी कागणीकर

धनगर कुटुंबात जन्मलेले आणि सर्वांशानं समाजसेवेला, विशेषत: साक्षरता आणि पाणलोट क्षेत्र विकासाच्या कार्याला वाहून घेतलेले शिवाजी कागणीकर यांनी तेरा वर्षांच्या अखंड परिश्रमांनंतर कठणभावी आणि शेजारच्या बंबरगा या गावांचा चेहरामोहराच बदलून टाकलाय. उघड्या-बोडक्या डोंगरावर आता हिरवळ वाढू लागली आहे. कष्टानं जगवलेला एकेक वृक्ष आता 'मोहरू' लागलाय आणि याचा आनंद त्यांच्या चेहऱ्यावर स्पष्ट दिसू लागलाय.

दूर करण्यात ते यशस्वी झाले शेतकरी मग उत्स्फूर्तपणे वृक्षलागवडीसाठी गजी होऊ लागले आणि आता वर्षागणीक पाणलोट क्षेत्र विकासाचे कार्यक्षेत्र वाढतच आहे.

कठणभावी व बंबरगे गावातील सुबद वनराई आता परिसरातील शेतकऱ्यांना भुरळ घालू लागली आहे बोडकनहळ्ळी, कुरीहाळ या गावचे शेतकरी आता कागणीकाराकडे साकडे घालीत आहेत.

३० लाखाचा खर्च

कठणभावी गावचा कायापालट करण्यात बेळगावच्या जनजागरणचे सर्वेसर्वा फादर जो चनकला यांचा सिंहाचा वाटा आहे शिवाजी कागणीकर'वर कठणभावी गावची जबाबदारी सोपविली ती फादर जो यानीच जर्मनीतील अभियंता रुडाल्फ यांच्याशी संपर्क साधून व कठणभावीची नियोजित 'पाणलोट क्षेत्र विकास' योजना त्याच्या कानी घालून फादरनी पुरेसे अर्थसहाय्य मिळविले रुडाल्फ यांच्या अर्थसहाय्यामुळे जनजागरणने कठणभावी व बंबरगा या दोन गावांना मिळून सुमारे ३० लाख रुपये खर्च केले आहेत, असे शिवाजी कागणीकर यांनी सांगितले.

शिवाजी कागणीकरांचे हे अजोड कार्य व त्यांनी कठणभावी गावाचा केलेला कायापालट प्रसारमाध्यमांपासून जरी दूर राहिला असला तरी जलसिंचन व जलसंवर्धन क्षेत्रातील तज्ज्ञांनी आवर्जून या आदर्श प्रकल्पची पाहणी केली आहे. बेळगाव शहर व परिसरातील अनेक महाविद्यालयांनी या तिकाणी शिबिरांचे आयोजन करून विद्यार्थ्यांना या प्रकल्पाची माहिती दिली आहे.

वेगळ्या वाटेचं मेंढरू

या सर्व कामाचे जनक शिवाजी राव्याप्पा कागणीकर यांचा जन्म १९४९ मालेचा जनगाव कडोली (ता बेळगाव) धनगर कुटुंबातील आठवे अपत्य पण ते कुटुंबात रमले नाहीत वेगळ्या वाटेच मेंढरू असा त्याचा उल्लेख केल्यास वावगे ठरू नये इतपत त्यानी आपला जीवन मार्ग बदलला. विज्ञान शाखेची पदवी अंतिम टप्पात असताना त्यांनी शिक्षण सोडलं गांधीवादी विचारसरणीच्या कागणीकरांवर सने गुरुजींच्या वाङ्मयाचा प्रभाव पडला व ते समाजसेवेकडे वळले. ग्रामदान, ग्रामस्वराज्य अभियान, हातमाग कामगारांचा यशस्वी लढा असा प्रवास करीत १९७८ मध्ये त्यांनी जनजागरणची कास धरली अविवाहित राहून आजन्म समाजसेवेचं व्रत त्यांनी पाळल स्वप्नपूर्तीसाठी त्यांनी आपल्या कुटुंबाला सोडचिठ्ठी दिली आणि कठणभावी येथे स्थायिक झाले ते कायमचेच! खादी डगला, खादी हाफ पँट, गांधी टोपी असा अगदी साधा वेष, रसाळ व नम्र भाषा आणि सौजन्यशील स्वभाव यामुळे ते संपूर्ण बेळगाव जिल्ह्यात परिचीत आहेत त्यांच्या कार्याची दखल घेऊन अनेक ख्यातनाम सेवाभावी संस्थांनी त्यांना पुरस्कार बहाल केले आहेत.

कर्जमुक्ती

पाणी टंचाईप्रमाणे कठणभावीचे ग्रामस्थ कर्जाच्या विळख्यात अडकले होते साधारण आठ वर्षापूर्वी जनजागरणच्या माध्यमातून तेथे तलाव खोदाई सुरू केली काही पुडारी टूँक्टर, बुलढोझरने काम हलकर संपविण्याच्या मागे होते पण कागणीकरांनी याला विरोध केला तीन महिन्याच्या या तलाव, खोदाईच्या माध्यमातून ग्रामस्थासाठी रोजगार उपलब्ध करून दिला तीन महिन्यात मिळालेली मजुरी कर्जफेडीसाठी उपयुक्त ठरली अन्यथा कुटुंबांची कर्जातून मुक्तता झाली. आज हा तलाव कागणीकरांच्या कार्याचे प्रतिक म्हणून ग्रामस्थ आजोबतात या तलावाच्या पाण्यामुळे गावतील विहिरींना मुबलक पाणी तर आहेच शिवाय पाणी टंचाई कायमचीच निकालात निघाली आहे ◆◆

'जलसाठा संवर्धन' योजनेतून कठणभावी येथे खोदण्यात आलेले व पाण्याने भरलेले तळे.

अक्षरकथा

• पी. ललित

राणी

डोळ्यांतले अश्रू पुसण्याचा त्यांनी प्रयत्न केला, पण त्यांना ते थांबवता आले नाहीत. कोसळणाऱ्या पावसाबरोबर आकाशातले पावसाचे ढग वाढतच होते. मनाच्या कुठल्या तरी कोपऱ्यात साठवून ठेवलेल्या आठवणी छिद्र पडलेल्या भांड्यातून पाणी झिरपावे तशा बाहेर येत होत्या.

माई शून्यात नजर लावून बसल्या होत्या. एक प्रकारची बधीरता त्यांच्या डोक्यात आली होती. विषण्णता त्यांच्या डोळ्यात ओसंडून भरली होती रडून रडून डोळे लाल झाले होते शरीरात त्राण नव्हते बसल्या जागेवरून उठवेसे वाटत नव्हते धरावाहेरचा प्रकाश घरात अंधार असल्याची जाणीव करून देत होता क्षणाक्षणाला सगळं, संपल्याची जाणीव होत होती निराशेने मन भरलेले होते जीवन सपवण्याचे विचार मनात येत होते त्याना कसलेच भान नव्हते भूतकाळातले धागे चाचपडण्याचा त्या प्रयत्न करत होत्या

भूतकाळातले धागे उलगडताना डोळ्यांतून अश्रूंचे वेब ओघळत होते तसे त्यांच्या जीवनात जास्त धागे नव्हतेच जे होते ते फक्त एकाच नावाशी जोडले होते 'राणी' त्यांची एकुलती एक मुलगी आपल्या प्राणापेक्षाही ती त्यांना प्रिय होती तिच्याशिवाय जीवनाचा विचार माई करू शकत नव्हत्या त्यांच्या जीवनाचा तो एकच उरलासुरला आधार होता. या धाग्यासाठीच माई जगत होत्या. सुसाट वाहणाऱ्या वाऱ्याच्या प्रवाहातला एखादा तरंग तेव्हाच्या मेणबत्तीला विझवून जाईल हा विचारच त्यांनी केला नव्हता. प्रकर्षाने त्यांना तिची आठवण आली न, नी कुठे होती? नियतीने माईच्या हातात- फक्त आठवणी, आठवणीभोवती फिरणारे एक वेगळे जग यांचेच धागे दिले होते जपण्यासाठी, आणि डोळे भूतकाळातल्या राणीला पाहून अश्रू ढाळण्यासाठी

डोळ्यांतले अश्रू पुसण्याचा त्यांनी प्रयत्न केला पण त्यांना ते थाबवता आले नाहीत कोसळणाऱ्या पावसाबरोबर आकाशातले पावसाचे ढग वाढतच होते मनाच्या कुठल्या तरी कोपऱ्यात साठवून ठेवलेल्या आठवणी छिद्र पडलेल्या भाड्यातून पाणी झिरपावे तशा बाहेर येत होत्या त्यांना बाध घालता येत नव्हता माईनी तसा प्रयत्नच केला नव्हता त्याना त्या आठवणी हव्याहव्याशा वाटत होत्या त्यामागे कोणते कारण होते, माहीत नाही पण एवढे मात्र खरे माई राणीच्याच विचारातच होत्या जे घडले ते त्यांना स्वप्नच वाटत होते त्या आठवणी उलगडताना माई स्वतःच त्या आठवणीत अडकून गेल्या होत्या कोळी जसा आपल्याच जाळ्यात अडकतो ना तसा कुठून तरी प्रकाशाचा एक किरण त्या खोलीत आपला क्षीण उजेड अलगद पसरवत आहे, असे माईना वाटले त्याच क्षीण प्रकाशात राणी कोपऱ्यात रडत बसल्याचा त्यांना भास झाला. 'राणी का रडतेस? कुणी मारलं का तुला? कुठ पडली का? लागलं का तुला? सांग राणी... बोल.' निमुळत्या दरीच्या टोकावरचे आपले शब्द जसे दरीच्या कानाकोपऱ्यात आदळून परत येतात, अगदी तसेच माईचे शब्द क्षीण प्रकाशाच्या सूक्ष्म कणावर आदळून त्याच आवर्तनांना घेऊन परत आले, त्यांना उत्तर मिळाले नाही पुनः पुन्हा प्रश्न पुन्हा आवर्तने . पुन्हा निस्तब्धता शांतता

अशातच त्यांना कधी झोप लागली कळात नाही तो क्षीण प्रकाश कधीच नाहीसा झाला होता निस्सीम शांतता पसरली होती, आणि पुन्हा कधीतरी त्यांना जाग आली ती राणीच्या बडबडण्याने नी झोपेतही बडबडत असे कधी एखादया स्वप्नामुळे रडत- ओरडत उठत असे माईंनी अंधारातच चाचपडण्याचा प्रयत्न केला त्यांना कोणताच, कशाचाच स्पर्श जाणवला नाही कारण राणी तिथे नव्हतीच राणी काय झाले? स्वप्न पडल का तुला? पाणी देऊ का?' पुन्हा तशीच निस्तरीत शांतता साबल्याचं आकृत्या दिसाच्या तसा काळोखात त्यांना भास होत होता राणी या जगात नव्हतीच. या जगापासून ती दूर गेली होती तिच्या लाडक्या माईला सोडून कधी न परत येण्यासाठी कायमचं... गोठलेल्या अश्रूंना पुन्हा ऊब लागली.

पहाट केव्हा झाली त्यांना कळलं नाही राजभर त्याना म्हणावी तशी झोप लागली नव्हती. उघड्या खिडकीतून येणारा पहाटवारा शरीराला कधीतरी जाणवला, त्या जाग्या झाल्या, खोलीत पुसट अधार होता. त्या तशाच बसल्या. कसल्यातरी गहन विचारात माईंनी त्या पिल्लाला उचलून मांडीवर घेतले त्या पिलाला कुरवाळत असताना स्वच्छ प्रकाशात त्यांना राणीची खेळणी दिसली. बाहुल्या... चेंडू, आणि महिन्यांपूर्वी घेतलेली लहानशी गाडी जी तिला खूप आवडत असे. सकाळी उठल्यानंतर ती पहिल्यांदा गाडी ओघत असे घरभर फिरवून झाल्यानंतर माईजवळ बसत असे साखर घातलेले दूध पिण्यासाठी दुधावरोबर तिला बिस्किट लागत असत कोपऱ्यावरच्या शंभूकाकांच्या दुकानातून बिस्किटे घेऊन यावत- यावत येताना एकदा ती पडली होती अजून कशी उठली नाही राणी? माईंनी सगळीकडे पाहिले, पण राणी नव्हती. पुन्हा वास्तव . पुन्हा अश्रू. त्या खेळण्यांचा आता कोणताच उपयोग नव्हता. त्या खेळण्याच्या प्रत्येक कणात राणीच्या इवल्याशा कोमल हातांचा स्पर्श होता. मांजराच्या पिलाला बाजूला ठेवून माई उठल्या लहानशी गाडी त्यांनी हातात घेतली राणीचा स्पर्श. तिचे अवखळ व निष्पाप हास्य त्यानी डॉक्टराना बोलावून आणण्याचा विचार केला पण राणीजवळ कोण हा प्रश्न समोर पडला त्यांना रमाकाकूची आठवण झाली माईंनी राणीकडे पाहिले तापातच ती काहीबाही बडबडत होती माई धावत रमाकाकूंच्या घरी गेल्या माधवराव व रमाकाकू चहा पीत होते माईंनी माधवरावांना सांगितले, मी अर्ध्या तासात डॉक्टरांना घेऊन येतो राणीची काळजी घ्या' चहा अर्ध्यावर सोडून जोश्याची सायकल घेऊन माधवराव डॉक्टराकडे निघाले माईना अश्रू आवरले नाहीत माधवराव त्यांना देवासारखे वाटले त्या राणीजवळ आल्या बरोबर रमाकाकू होत्या. राणी अजूनही बडबडत होती

माधवराव गेल्यानंतरचा प्रत्येक क्षण माईना युगासारखा वाटत होता. रमाकाकू धीर देत होत्या सुदैवाने डॉक्टर घरातच होते. त्यांनी औषधाची वेंग उचलली वीस मिनिटात माधवराव गल्लीच्या तोंडाशी आले माईच्या परासमोर गाडी होती. माधवराव दचकले 'राणी मघाशीच गेली', शमुकाकांनी त्यांना सांगितले त्यांचा विश्वास बसला नाही. माधवकाकांना उशीर झाला होता नियतीचा वेग त्यांच्या सायकलपेक्षा जास्त होता ते माईच्या घरात गेले माई शुद्धीत नव्हत्या. माधवरावांनी राणीकडे पाहिले, ती ओप्तल्यासारखी वाटत होती. तिचे अवखळ व निष्पाप हास्य तिच्या चेहऱ्यावर तसेच होते.

राणी माईना सोडून गेली होती भाऊनंतर राणीला माईंनीच वाढवले होते. राणी या वेळी तीन वर्षांची होती. भाऊ पंधरा दिवस अंथरूणावरच होते, घुशीने पोखरलेल्या भिंतीसारखी दारुने त्याच्या शरीराची अवस्था केली होती. त्यांच्या दिवसाची सुरुवात दारूनेच होत असे कधी कधी भाऊ माईना मारत असत पण राणीला मात्र हात लावत नसत राणीवर त्यांचासुद्धा जीव होता. राणीला खायलासुद्धा कही आणत असत एक बाहुलीही त्यांनी तिला आणली होती, दारुमुळे होणाऱ्या मांडाशी माईना सवय झाली होती माधवरावानीसुद्धा त्याना समजाणण्याचा प्रयत्न केला होता पण त्याचा कोणताच उपयोग झाला नव्हता मुळे कुतलेल्या झाडाची कितीही काळजी घेतली तरी झाड जगत नाही या दिवशी डॉक्टर आले होते त्यांनी आठ दिवसाची मुदत दिली माईवर आकाश कोसळने पाचव्या दिवशी पहाटे भाऊ गेले, पोखरलेली भित कोसळणारच होती, माईना भाऊंचा कसला का होईना, पण आधार होता तो आधार नुप्त झाला. माई एकट्या पडल्या

त्या प्रसगातसुद्धा माई धीराने उभ्या राहिल्या, फक्त राणीसाठी त्यांनी तिला काहीच कमी पडू दिले नव्हते आजपर्यंत स्वत:साठी असे त्यांनी काहीच केले नव्हते. जे केले ते राणीसाठी. पण..

रमाकाकूनी डोळे पुसले माई अजून खेळण्याकडेच बघत होत्या 'माई थोडा चहा पिऊन घ्या कालपासून तुम्ही काहीच घेतले नाही '

माई वेगळ्याच विश्वात होत्या. आकाशातील चांदण्या हरवलेल्या राक्षीसारखी त्यांच्या बधीर मनाची अवस्था होती खिडकीच्या फटीतून येणाऱ्या उन्हाच्या तिरिपीमुळे खोलीत पसरलेल्या प्रकाशासारखे अबधित आलेल्या दु: खाचे धुके शरीराच्या जाणीवांवर साचले होते निळ्या आकाशात जमणाऱ्या कृष्णमेघांसारखे अश्रूंचे ढग डोळ्यांत साठले होते. सागरच्या मध्यभागी गेल्यानंतर चारही दिशांनी जसं निळंशार पाणी दिसतं अगदी तसाच एकटेपणाचा स्पर्श त्यांच्या मनाला स्पर्शून जात होता निर्झरातल्या नितळ पाण्याचा अवखळ स्पर्श काटेरी निवडुंगासारखा वाटाया इतक्या त्यांच्या संवेदना बधीर झाल्या होत्या. दूरवर लेंडल्या गेलेल्या तारांचा आवाज असण्टास ऐकू यावा तसा कुठून तरी त्यांना राणीचा आवाज ऐकू येत होता हळुहळू गडद होणाऱ्या राक्षीसारखं त्यांचं दु:ख गहिर होत होतं, पण या राक्षीना पहाट नव्हती काळाच्या प्रचड सागरात निराशेची लहानशी होडी प्रचंड वादळाची वाट बघत लाटांवर तरंगत होती ◆◆

अक्षरयात्रासाठी १००० शब्दापर्यंत उत्तमकथा पाठवा. मानधन दिले जाते.

-संपादक

शब्दगंध

• अविनाश बिनिवाले

एकाच आईवडिलांची काही अपत्ये असतात. त्या त्यात फक्त मुलगा असतील फक्त मुली असतील किंवा काही मुली असतील आणि काही मुलगे असतील. या सर्वांना मिळून आपण भावंडं असं म्हणतो. इंग्रजीत त्याला ब्रदर्स ॲन्ड सिस्टर्स असं म्हणतात. ग्रीक भाषेतही अगदी अशाच अर्थाचा अँटेल्फिया असा शब्द आहे. या शब्द मराठीत्याप्रमाणेच नपुसकलिंगी असा तो शब्द आहे उदाहरणार्थ मगेशकरांचंच उदाहरण घ्यायचं झाल तर 'मगेशकर गब्धिस्टर्' (Mangeschkar Geschwister) असं तिथं सहजपणे म्हणता येतं

त्याचा उपयोग थेट मराठीतल्याप्रमाणेच केला जातो. उदाहरणार्थ पाच मगेशकरांपैकी कोणीही म्हणू शकेल की 'वीर् जिन्द् फुनफ् गब्धिस्टर्' (Wir sind funf Geschwister) म्हणजे आम्ही पाच भावंडं आहोत

ग्रीक भाषेतही अगदी अशाच अर्थाचा अँटेल्फिया असा शब्द आहे. या शब्द मराठीत्याप्रमाणेच नपुसकलिंगी

• यज्ञेश्वर निगळे

गेल्या आठवड्यात पणजीहून 'तरुण भारत'चे गोव्यातील मुख्य प्रतिनिधी सागर जावडेकर यांच्याकडून फोन आला म्हणाले, येत्या रविवारी साखळी सुर्ल' या गावी जायचंय सोबत 'बालकाडू कार हमो आहेत आणि फोन ठेवता ठेवता उत्साही स्वरात सागरने 'त्रुमी यायलाच हवं अशी आग्रही सूचना केली. निमत्रणाचा झुकलेला, अर्ध्या घड्डीतला (पण शाब्दा स्वयंसेवक नव्हे!) तंबाखू चोळून चोळून दतपंक्ती नावड्या लाल झालेला, खांद्यावरून मऊजा टवित पेतलेला हा घरगडी गोविंदा डोळ्यात कुतूहल आणि चेहऱ्यावर प्रश्नचिन्हं पाहुण्याना तेलबांधारीत मराठ्यांच्या टिकाणात जायचं आहे असे सागण्यात आल्यानतर गोविंदाच्या चेहऱ्यावरील प्रश्नचिन्ह लोप पावून ते जणा आता कोनत्यातिथेच आदराने पेतलेली होती

गेल्यावर मूढ घराचे प्रशस्त अंगण आणि त्याला जोडून मूठ घर एके काळी घरासमोर पोफळी, माड होते उत्तमपैकी लागवड केलेले हिरवेकच कुटुंगार होते घराच्या बाजूला विहीर होती पाणी रहाटाने उपसून घ्यावे लागायचे

पायऱ्या चढून आम्ही अंगणात आलो विश्वास बसणार नाही एढ्डी तिथे अवकळा पसरली होती पुरचे भग्नावशेषही पुसल्या गेल्या होत्या घराच्या भिंतीवरचे गवत उपटलेले दिसत होते राखी

'भाऊ आहे का घरात?' हमोनी बाहेरूनच प्रश्न केला

'बेड्यावला गेल्येत' ओळखीचे हसून सुनबाई म्हणाल्या, 'बसा थोडा वेळ येतीलच एवढ्यात.'

पुढल्या येळी नक्कीच येऊन जाईन हमोनी आश्वासन देने आणि आम्ही नावन चालन मारुतीच्या परी पोलोच्या वाटणणी हमोनी बड्या सोड्या या सर्वांना घेऊ उद्यानात आहोत आपन अन्य मराठ्यांची ठिकाणेपण पाहीजे,

FOOD AND WORK

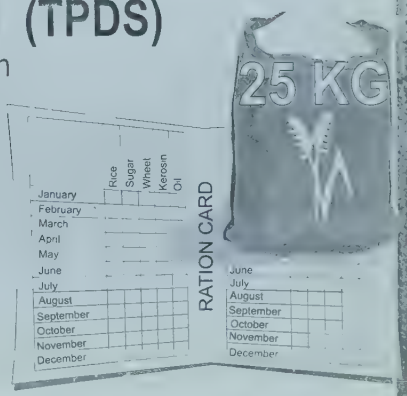
Vhen There Are Mountains Of Foodgrains In This Country?
ed When The Government's Food Grain Is Rotting, Being Stolen Or Dumped Into The Sea?
Though The Government Has A Responsibility To Ensure That Every One Has Enough To Eat?
en Though The Central Government Has Numerous Employment Generation Schemes?
Girls, Pregnant And Lactating Women Not Availing Of Their Rights?

R RIGHTS - DEMAND THEM !

Right To Avail Of Food, Work, Pension &
der These Centrally Sponsored Schemes.

ETED PUBLIC DISTRIBUTION SYSTEM (TPDS)

Poverty Line (BPL) card holders must get 25 kgs. of grain per month
er than a subsidised price fixed by your State Government.

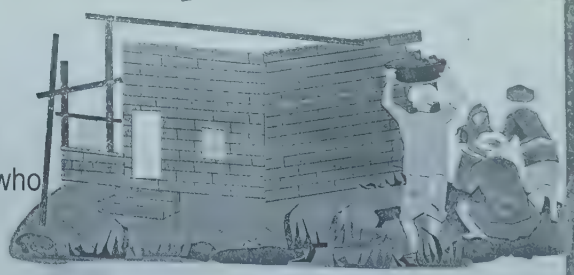


ANTYODAYA ANNA YOJANA (AAY)

All Antyodaya Anna Yojana card holders must get 25 kgs. Of grain
each month at Rs. 2/kg for wheat and Rs. 3/kg. for rice.

WORK

g work in famine / drought / scarcity affected
work in accordance with the terms of the
f / Scarcity Code.

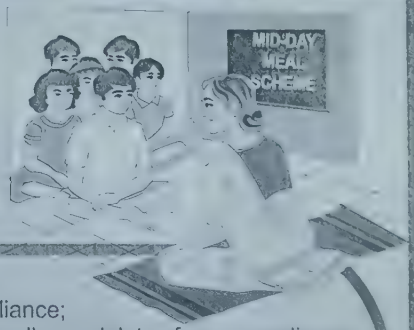


NT ASSURANCE SCHEME (EAS)

died adults per family regardless of APL/BPL status who
iven at least 100 days of employment each, per year
ltural season. This Scheme has now been merged
Gramin Rozgar Yojana.

SCHEME (MDMS)

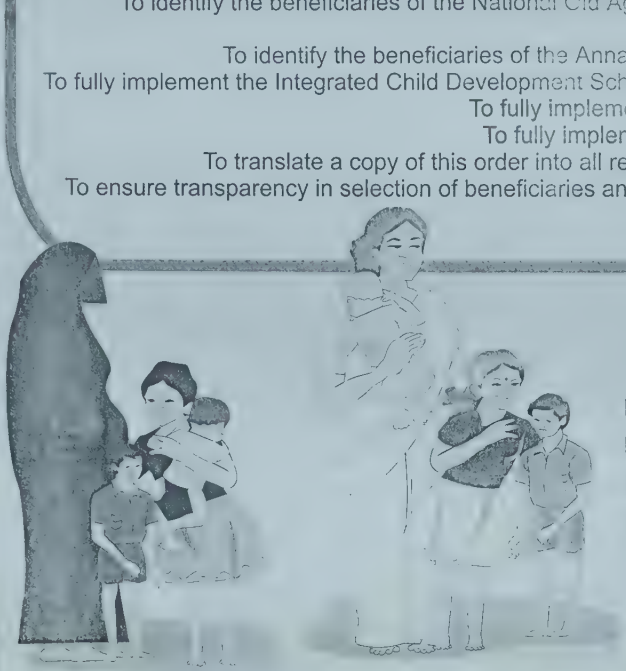
ing government and government-assisted primary schools
ed mid-day meals for at least 200 days in a year.



IE COURT ORDER

Court of India directed all the State / UT Governments and the Union of India;
ard holders get their full entitlements, and redress all complaints of non-compliance;
ibution of 25 kgs of grain per family per month by 1 January 2002, and redress all complaints of non-compliance;
stribution of grain (25 kgs per family per month) by 1 January 2002, and redress all complaints of non-compliance;
rchase their allotted grain should apply to the State Governments for relief and for free grain;
mplaints of non-compliance. Where only dry rations are being provided, cooked food must be provided
the poorer districts, and by 1 June 2002 in the whole State;
ne, start making payments of pensions by 1 January 2002, and redress all complaints of non-compliance.
ns must be paid by the 7th day of each month;
tart distributing grain to them by 1 January 2002, and redress all complaints of non-compliance;

On 28 November 2001, the Supreme Court of India directed all the State /
To fully implement the TPDS, ensure that all card holders get their full entitlement
To complete identification of all BPL families, issue ration and ensure distribution of 25 kgs of grain per family
To complete identification of Antyodaya beneficiaries and commence the distribution of grain (25 kgs per family
Those Antyodaya beneficiaries who are too poor to purchase their allotted grain should ap
To fully implement the Mid Day Meal Scheme, and redress all complaints of non-compliance. Where
by 1 March 2002 in the poorer districts, and by 1 June 2
To identify the beneficiaries of the National Old Age Pension Scheme, start making payments of pensic
Pensions must be paid by the 7th day of ea
To identify the beneficiaries of the Annapurna Scheme, start distributing grain to them by 1 J.
To fully implement the Integrated Child Development Scheme by 1 January 2002, to ensure that there is an IC
To fully implement the National Maternity Benefit Scheme and redres
To fully implement the National Family Benefit Scheme and redress
To translate a copy of this order into all regional languages and display it at Gram Panchayats,
To ensure transparency in selection of beneficiaries and their access to Schemes. Gram Panchayats should
for inspection to members of the pul
Complaints to be reported to the Chief Secreta



INTEGRATED CHILD DEV

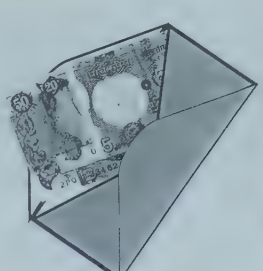
It is the right of every

- child up to 6 years of age to get 300 calorie
- adolescent girl to get 500 calories & 20-25
- pregnant woman and each nursing mother
- malnourished child to get 600 calories and

Supplementary nutrition, immunisation, hea education must be given to all children up t mothers, adolescent girls, and malnourishe

NATIONAL MATERNITY BENEFIT

Every pregnant BPL woman must be given Rs. 500/- for t prior to delivery.



NATIONAL OLD AGE PEN

All destitute persons, 65 years and over mu in addition to entitlements under the State

ANNAPURNA SCHEME

All destitute persons 65 years and over, eli but not receiving it must be given 10 kgs. o

NATIONAL FAMILY BENEFIT SC

Every BPL family must get Rs. 10,000/- cash on the death bread winner.

NATIONAL CAMPAIGN FOR THE RIGHT

ARE YOU DENIED ANY OF THESE RIGHTS ?
Write A Complaint To The District Collector &
Send A Copy Of The Same To The Following:

INDIA CENTRE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS & LAW
CVOD Jain School, 4th Floor, 84, Samuel Street, Dongri, Mumba
Tel: + 91 - 22 3759657 / 3716690 E-mail: huright@vsnl.com

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he poorer districts, and by 1 June 2002 in the whole State;
ıe, start making payments of pensions by 1 January 2002, and redress all complaints of non-compliance.
ıs must be paid by the 7th day of each month;
art distributing grain to them by 1 January 2002, and redress all complaints of non-compliance;
2002, to ensure that there is an ICDS centre in every settlement, and redress all complaints of non-compliance;
aternity Benefit Scheme and redress all complaints of non-compliance;
Family Benefit Scheme and redress all complaints of non-compliance;
and display it at Gram Panchayats, Government School Buildings and Fair Price (Ration) Shops;
Schemes. Gram Panchayats should display a list of beneficiaries under various schemes and make it available
or inspection to members of the public;
to be reported to the Chief Secretary of the State.

ATED CHILD DEVELOPMENT SCHEME (ICDS)

of every
years of age to get 300 calories & 8-10 grams of protein per day;
irl to get 500 calories & 20-25 grams of protein per day;
man and each nursing mother to get 500 calories and 20-25 grams of protein per day;
d child to get 600 calories and 16-20 grams of protein per day.

ary nutrition, immunisation, health check ups, referral services, nutrient and health
ust be given to all children up to 6 years of age, pregnant women and nursing
olescent girls, and malnourished children.

ERNITY BENEFIT SCHEME (NMBS)

ı must be given Rs. 500/- for the first two births 8-12 weeks

IAL OLD AGE PENSION (NOAP)

persons, 65 years and over must receive Rs. 75/- per month
entitlements under the State Pension Scheme.

URNA SCHEME

persons 65 years and over, eligible for Central pensions (NOAP)
ving it must be given 10 kgs. of free food grain per month.

ILY BENEFIT SCHEME (NFBS)

Rs. 10,000/- cash on the death of the primary

LOCAL ORGANISATION

IGN FOR THE RIGHT TO FOOD & WORK

FOR HUMAN RIGHTS & LAW
loor, 84, Samue Street, Dongri, Mumbai 9.
67 / 3716690 E-mail: huright@vsnl.com

ACTION AID INDIA
71, Uday Park,
New Delhi 110 149.

PEOPLE'S UNION FOR CIVIL LIBERTIES
76, Shanti Niketan Colony, Barkat Nagar,
Tank Road, Jaipur, Rajasthan.

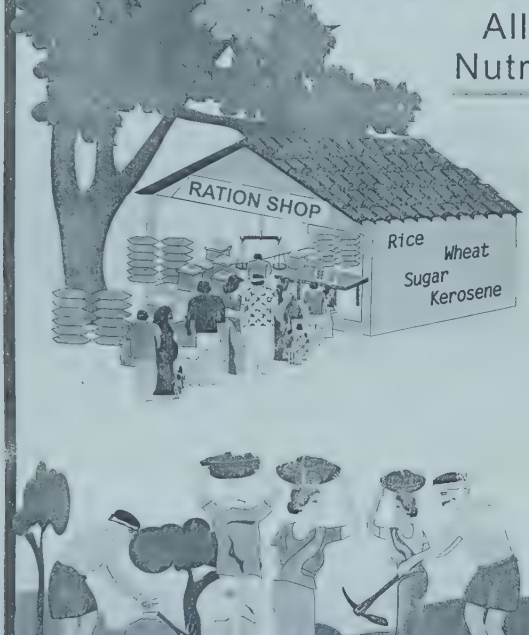
DESIGNED BY DR. YUG MOHIT CHAUDHRY

RIGHT TO FOOD

Why Are People Starving When There Are Mountains Of
Why Are Our Women And Children Weak And Malnutritioned When The Government's F
Why Do People Have To Go To Bed Hungry Every Night Even Though The Government Has
Why Are Able - Bodied People Not Able To Get Work Even Though The Central Gove
Why Are Old People, Children, Young Girls, Pregnant And Lactatir

THESE ARE YOUR RIGHTS

All People Have A Right To Avail Of Fo
Nutrition Benefits Under These Centrally



TARGETED PUBLIC DI

All Below Poverty Line (BPL) card holde
at no higher than a subsidised price fixe

ANTYODAYA ANN

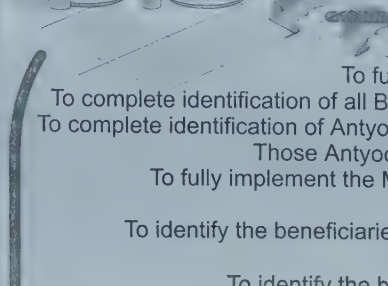
All Antyodaya Anna Yojana car
each month at Rs. 2/kg for whe

FOOD FOR WORK

Every person needing work in famine / drought / sca
areas must be given work in accordance with the te
state's Famine / Relief / Scarcity Code.

EMPLOYMENT ASSURANCE S

At least two able - bodied adults per family regardle
need work must be given at least 100 days of emplo
during the lean agricultural season. This Scheme ha
under the Sampurna Gramin Rozgar Yojana.



MID-DAY MEAL SCHEME (MDMS)

All children regularly attending government and governme
must be provided hot, cooked mid-day meals for at least 2

SUPREME COUR

On 28 November 2001, the Supreme Court of India directed all the State
To fully implement the TPDS, ensure that all card holders get their full entitlement
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by 1 March 2002 in the poorer districts, and by 1 June 2
To identify the beneficiaries of the National Old Age Pension Scheme, start making payments of pensi
Pensions must be paid by the 7th day of ea
To identify the beneficiaries of the Annapurna Scheme, start distributing grain to them by 1

ವ್ಯವಸ್ಥೆ → / ಗುಣ ವೈಶಿಷ್ಟ್ಯ ↓	ಏಕಸ್ವಾಮ್ಯ ಬಂಡವಾಳಶಾಹಿ Monopoly CAPITALISM	ಅಧಿಕಾರಶಾಹಿ ನಿಯೋಜಿತ ಬಂಡವಾಳಶಾಹಿ (ಸರ್ಕಾರೀ ಬಂಡವಾಳಶಾಹಿ!) Bureaucratic SOCIALISM (State Capitalism!?)	ಅಕೇಂದ್ರಿತ, ಪರಿಸರ ಸ್ನೇಹಿ ನಿಯೋಜಿತ Acentralized Eco-Socialism
1. ಅಭಿವೃದ್ಧಿ ದೃಷ್ಟಿಕೋನ	ಹೆಚ್ಚಿನ ಉತ್ಪಾದನೆ, ಹೆಚ್ಚಿನ ಲಾಭ, ಆಸಾವಶ್ಯಕ, ಕಾಸಿಕಾರಕ ಉತ್ಪಾದನೆಗಾಗಿ ನಿಯಂತ್ರಿಸಲ್ಪಟ್ಟ (ಅಮಲು ಪದಾರ್ಥಗಳು, ಕಸ್ತ್ರಾಸ್ತ್ರಗಳು) ಅಕ್ರಮ ಜಾಹಿರಾತು ಮಾಡಿ ಕೆಟ್ಟ ಬೇಡಿಕೆ ನಿರ್ಮಾಣ, ಮಾರುಕಟ್ಟೆ ಪ್ರಭುತ್ವ, ಬಹಿಷ್ಕಾರ ಹಿಂಚಿಕೆ.	ಹೆಚ್ಚಿನ ಉತ್ಪಾದನೆ, ಬಂಡವಾಳಶಾಹಿ ದೇಶಗಳ ಭೀತಿಯಿಂದ ಕಸ್ತ್ರಾಸ್ತ್ರ ನಿರ್ಮಾಣ, ಯುಲಭೂತ ಅವಶ್ಯಕತೆಗಳನ್ನು ಪೂರೈಸಲಿಲ್ಲ, ಬಲ್ಲವರಿಗೂ ಉದ್ಯೋಗ ಪ್ರಾಧಿಕಾರವಿಲ್ಲ. ಅವರೆ ಬಂಡವಾಳಶಾಹಿ ದೇಶಗಳಂತೆ. ಉಪಭೋಗ್ಯ ವಸ್ತುಗಳ ಉತ್ಪಾದನೆಯು ಅಧಿಕಾರಶಾಹಿಯ ಅನಿಯಂತ್ರಿತ ವಿಷಯ.	ಇಡೀ ನಿಯಂತ್ರಿತ ಭವಿಷ್ಯ, ಸಾಂಸ್ಥಿಕ ಆವಶ್ಯಕತೆಗಳನ್ನು ಪ್ರೊಫೈಲ್ಸ್ ಉತ್ಪಾದನೆ. ಕಡಿಮೆ ಹಿಂಚಿಕೆ. ಅಕಾಯ, ಜಾತಿ, ಅಧಿಕಾರ ಕೆಲವರ ಕೈಯಲ್ಲಿ ಸ್ಥಾಪಿತ ಮಾಗದರಲು ನಿರ್ಧಾರಕ ಜಾಗರೂಕತೆ. ಕಾಸಿಕಾರಕ ಉತ್ಪನ್ನಗಳ ನಿಷೇಧ.
2. ಉತ್ಪಾದನೆಯ ನಿಭಂದನೆಗಳ ಹಿಂಚಿಕೆ	ಅಲ್ಪಾಂತ ವಿರಳ ಜನರಿಗೆ ಒತ್ತಿನ. ಬಹುಸಂಖ್ಯಾತರು ಉತ್ಪಾ ವಿಹೀನರು. ಜನರಿಗೆ ಉದ್ಯೋಗದಾರಿಗೆ ಪ್ರೇರಕವಾದ ಸರಕಾರಿ ಉದ್ಯೋಗ ವಿಲಾಸ್ತ ನೋಡಿ.	ಅಧಿಕಾರಶಾಹಿಯು ನಿಯಂತ್ರಣಾದಲ್ಲಿರುವ ನಷ್ಟೇಯು (ನಿಮಾಣಿಕ) ಒತ್ತಿನ.	ಸ್ಥಳೀಯರು ಜನರ ನಿಯಂತ್ರಣಾದಲ್ಲಿರುವ ನಿಯಮಾಕಿಕ ಒತ್ತಿನ.
3. ಬಳಕೆಯ ವಿಧಾನ	ಮುಕ್ತ ಸ್ಪರ್ಧೆಯನ್ನು ಅಧಾರಿಸಿದ ಮಾರುಕಟ್ಟೆಯೇ ನಿರ್ಧಾರಕ ಶಕ್ತಿ	ಕೇಂದ್ರೀಕೃತ ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರೀಯ ನಿಯೋಜನೆ ಮುಖ್ಯ ನಿರ್ಧಾರಣಿಯು ಅತಿಮುಖ್ಯ.	ಅಕೇಂದ್ರಿತ ಸ್ಥಳೀಯರು ಜನಪಾಭಿಗಿಲ್ಲದ ನಿಯೋಜನೆ ಮುಖ್ಯ ಅತಿಮುಖ್ಯ
4. ಮಾನವ ಶ್ರಮಶಕ್ತಿ	ಶ್ರಮಶಕ್ತಿ ಕ್ರಯವಸ್ತು. ಮಾರುಕಟ್ಟೆ ನಿಯಮಗಳು ಅನ್ವಯ. ಶೋಷಿತ ನಿರುದ್ಯೋಗದ ಭೀತಿ. ಮಾನವ ಯಂತ್ರಗಳ ಗುಲಾಮ. ಹೊಣೆಗಾರಿಕೆ ಕೆಲಸ. ಮಾಲೀಕರ ಅಳಿವು!	ಶ್ರಮ ವ್ಯಸ್ಥೆಗೆ ಉದ್ಯೋಗದ ಖಾತ್ರಿ. ಜಬಾಬ್ದಾರಿ ಕೆಲಸಕ್ಕೆ ತಕ್ಕ ಶಾಲ ಮತ್ತು ಸೌಲಭ್ಯಗಳ ಅತಿ ತೋರಿಕೆ ಕಾರ್ಯಸ್ಥಿಯಿಂದ ತರುವ ಯತ್ನ. ನೈರಾಬಧ ಶ್ರಮ ವಿಭಜನೆ ಹೊಣೆಗಾರಿಕೆ ಕೆಲಸ.	ಜನರ ನೈಜನಕೀಲತೆಯನ್ನು ಅರಳಿಸುವ, ಅರ್ಥಪೂರ್ಣ, ಸೃಜನಶೀಲ ಶ್ರಮ ಸಂಸ್ಕೃತಿ ಕಾಪಾಡುವ ಕೆಲಸಕ್ಕೆ ಪ್ರೋತ್ಸಾಹಿಸುವ ಪ್ರಯತ್ನ. "ತಜ್ಞ"ರ ಬಗೆಗಿನ ಹುಚ್ಚು ಭ್ರಮೆಗಳನ್ನು ತೊಡೆದು ನಾಗರಿಕರ ಕೌಶಲ್ಯ, ಪಡಿಭಾಗ, ಕೆಲಸ ಮಾಳ್ವು ಆಸಕ್ತಿಗಳ ಸಾಂಯೋಗ. ಶ್ರಮಶಕ್ತಿ ಪೂರ್ಣ (ಸೂರ್ಯ) ಗೌರವ.
5. ಜೀವನ ದೃಷ್ಟಿ	ವ್ಯಕ್ತಿವಾದ, ಸ್ಪರ್ಧಾತ್ಮಕತೆ, ಶೋಷಣೆಯಧಾರಿತ ಮನುಷ್ಯ ಗುಣವ ಡಂಬಲ. ವ್ಯಕ್ತಿಕೇಂದ್ರಿತ ಉಪಭೋಗವಾದ. ಹೆಚ್ಚಿನ ವಸ್ತುಗಳ ಮಾಲಕತನಗುಣದಕಾಳ್ಳಿ ಮನಸ್ಸನ್ನು ಆಳುವುದು. ಮಾನವ ಸಂಬಂಧಗಳೆಲ್ಲ ಮುಖ್ಯವಾಗಿ ಅರ್ಥಿಕ ಸಂಬಂಧಗಳು.	ಅಧಿಕಾರಶಾಹಿಯು ಪ್ರಭುತ್ವದಿಂದಾಗಿ ಜನರ ಉತ್ಪೂರ್ಣ ನಿಷ್ಕರ್ಷಭಗದ ಕೊರತೆ. ಪಡಿಕಾರದ ಮಾನೋಭಾವ ಹೆಚ್ಚಿನವುಳ್ಳ ತುಂಬ ಮಿತಿ. ಪ್ರಭೇದಗೆ ಅವಕಾಶ ಉಂಟು.	ಬಂಧುತ್ವ ಭಾವ, ಸಹಕಾರ, ಮಾನವೀಯ, ನ್ಯಾಯುಪೂರ್ಣ ಸಂಬಂಧಗಳು ಬೆಳೆಸುವುದು ಸಹಕಾರ ಪ್ರಯತ್ನ. ಬಲ್ಲವರಿಗೂ ಒಳ್ಳೆಯ ಮಾನವೀಯ ಬದುಕು ಬಾಳಲು ಸಾಧ್ಯವಾಗುವಂತೆ. ಬಲ್ಲವರ ನೈಜನಕೀಲ ಸಹಭಾಗಿತ್ವದ ನಿಯಮಾಕಿಕ ಪ್ರಯತ್ನ.

... 2 →

ಗುಣ ವೈಶಿಷ್ಟ್ಯ / ವ್ಯವಸ್ಥೆ	ಏಕಪ್ರಭುತ್ವ ಬಂಡವಾಳಶಾಹಿ	ಅಧಿಕಾರಶಾಹಿ ನಿಯಮಾಧೀನವಾದ	ಅಕೇಂದ್ರೀಕೃತ ಪರಿಸರನ್ಯೋಕಿ ನಿಯಮಾಧೀನವಾದ
6. ನೈಸರ್ಗಿಕ ಸಂಪತ್ತಿನ ಬಳಕೆ	- ಪ್ರಭುತ್ವದ ಕೋಟೆಗೆ, ಬಂಡವಾಳಕ್ಕೆ ಮಾತ್ರ ಅಳತೆಗೆ ಅಳೆಯಬಹುದಾದ ಪ್ರಕೃತಿಸಂಪತ್ತಿನ ಪೂರೈಕೆಯಿಂದ ಲಾಭ ಪರಿಸರ ನಾಶ. ನಿಯಾಜದ ಉಚಿತಭೋಗವಾದ ಅದಕ್ಕೆ ಪ್ರಾರಂಭ. ಜಾಗತಿಕ ನಾಶ.	ಯೋಜನಾಬದ್ಧ ಆದರೆ ಸಾರ್ವಜನಿಕ ಬಳಕೆ. ಪರಿಸರ ನಿಯಂತ್ರಣವಿಲ್ಲದ ಗಣಿಗಾರಿಕೆ ಮತ್ತು ಅರಣ್ಯ ನಾಶ.	ಪ್ರಕೃತಿಯನ್ನು ಸಂಪನ್ಮೂಲಗಳನ್ನು ಆಧರಿಸಿ, ಸಂಪನ್ಮೂಲಗಳ ಇತಿಮಿತಿ ಗಮನದಲ್ಲಿರಿಸಿ ನೈಸರ್ಗಿಕ ಸಂಪತ್ತಿನ ಬಳಕೆ ಮತ್ತು ಪೋಷಣೆಯ ನೀತಿ ಪ್ರಾರಂಭಗೊಳ್ಳುವ ಪ್ರದೇಶ.
7. ತಂತ್ರಜ್ಞಾನಿಕ ಮತ್ತು ಕೃಷಿ	ಬಿಡಿಬಿಡಿ ಪ್ರಾದೇಶಿಕ ಅಭಿವೃದ್ಧಿಯ ವಿಚ್ಛಿದ್ರಗಳ ಮುಂದುವರಿಕೆ, ಹೊಸ ಪ್ರದೇಶಗಳ ಸಂಪನ್ಮೂಲ ಶೋಷಣೆ. ಕಾಲಿಯಾಸೆರ ಪ್ರಕೃತಿಯಲ್ಲಿಂದ ಭೂಮಿಯಲ್ಲಿಯ ಸಂಪನ್ಮೂಲಗಳ ಮೇಲೆ ಹೆಚ್ಚು ಸುವ ಕೈಗಾರಿಕೆಗಳ ರೈತರ ಹಿತಾಸಕ್ತಿ – ಅಭಿವೃದ್ಧಿಯ. ಜಲಗಳ ನಾಶ. ಸಹಸಾರ್ಥ ಸಾಧನೆಯ ಸಂಘರ್ಷ ಪಾಠ.	ಪ್ರಾದೇಶಿಕ ಅಸಮತೋಲನ ಉಂಟಾಗುವ ಕಾರಣ. ಪ್ರಾಥಮಿಕ ಕೈಗಾರಿಕೆಗಳ ಮೇಲೆ ಕೇಂದ್ರೀಕರಣ ಮತ್ತು ಅಭಿವೃದ್ಧಿಯ ಪ್ರಯತ್ನ. ಆದರೆ ಕೈಗಾರಿಕೆ ಅಭಿವೃದ್ಧಿಯಿಂದ ಕೃಷಿ. ಜಿಲ್ಲಾ ಸಾಮಾಜಿಕ ಆರ್ಥಿಕ ಅಸಮತೋಲನ.	ತಳಮಟ್ಟದ ಕೇಂದ್ರಿತ ಅಭಿವೃದ್ಧಿಯ ಪ್ರಯತ್ನ ಮಾಡಬಹುದು. ಅಕೇಂದ್ರೀಕೃತ- ಕೈಗಾರಿಕೆ ಅಭಿವೃದ್ಧಿ. ಪ್ರಾಥಮಿಕ ಕೃಷಿ. ಪ್ರಾಥಮಿಕ ಕೃಷಿ – ಬಾಹ್ಯಾಗಳ ಬಹಿರಂಗದಿಂದ ಕೈಗಾರಿಕೆ. ಕೃಷಿಗೆ ಪ್ರೋತ್ಸಾಹ ಕೈಗಾರಿಕೆ ಪೋಷಣೆ.
8. ಮಹಿಳೆಯರು	ಉಚಿತವಾಗಿದ ಬಹಳ. ಜಾಹಿರಾತುಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಅವಮಾನದ ಬಳಕೆ. 2 ನೇಯಂ ಜಿಪ್ಸಿನ. ವಿಭಿನ್ನ ಕೆಲಸದ ಭಾರ, ಅಧಿಕಾರ. ಹಿಂಸೆ.	ಬಹಿರಂಗವಾಗಿ ನೋಡುವುದಿಲ್ಲ. ಆರ್ಥಿಕ ಕ್ಷೇತ್ರದಲ್ಲಿ ಗಣನೀಯವಾಗಿ ಪಾಲ್ಗೊಳ್ಳುವಿಕೆ. ವಿಭಿನ್ನ ಕೆಲಸದ ಭಾರ.	ಸಾಮಾಜಿಕ ಜೀವನದ ಚಟುವಟಿಕೆಗಳ ಮಾಹಿತಿ ಮನೆ ಕೆಲಸದ ಭಾರ ಹಾಗೂ. ಪ್ರೀತಿ-ಪ್ರೇಮದ ನಿರ್ಣಯ ಜಾಬಾಬ್ದಾರಿ. ಮನೆ ಒಳ/ಹೊರಗೆ ನಿರ್ಣಯ ಪ್ರೀತಿನ/ಮಾನ.
9. ಪ್ರಭುತ್ವ	ಜನಸಾಮಿ ಅಸ್ತಿತ್ವಕ್ಕೆ ಪ್ರಭುತ್ವ ರಕ್ಷಣೆಗೆ, ಜನಸಾಮಿ ಲಾಭ ಪಡೆಯುವ ಪ್ರಯತ್ನ. ಶ್ರೀಂತರಿಕ ನಿರ್ಣಯ ಪರಿಪಾಲನೆಗೆ ಬೇಡುವುದರ ಮೇಲೆ ದಬ್ಬಾಳಿಕೆ. ಪ್ರಭುವರಿಗೆ ಬೆಲೆ ಇಲ್ಲ.	ಉಳ್ಳವರ ಸಾಂಪತ್ತಿನ ಒಡೆತನ ನಿರ್ಣಯದ ಹೆಚ್ಚುಗಳು. ಆದರೆ ಅಧಿಕಾರಶಾಹಿಗಳ ಶೋಷಣೆಗಳು- ಜೀವನದ ಪ್ರತಿಕ್ಷೇತ್ರದಲ್ಲಿ ಪ್ರಭುತ್ವದ ಪ್ರಸ್ತಕ್ಷೇಪ.	ತಳಮಟ್ಟದ ಜನರ ಪಾಲ್ಗೊಳ್ಳುವಿಕೆಗೆ ದುಡಿಯುವುದು ಜನರ ನಿಯಂತ್ರಣಕ್ಕೆ ಪ್ರಭುತ್ವ ಅಧೀನ. ನ್ಯಾಯಾಲಯ, ನಾಗರಿಕ ಪ್ರಜ್ಞೆಯಿಂದ ಜನಪ್ರಿಯತೆ ಗಳ ಕ್ಷೇಮಾಭಿವೃದ್ಧಿ. ಇವುಗಳ ಮೇರೆಗೆ ಜನರ ಅಂಕುಶ.
10. ಸಂಸ್ಕೃತಿ ಆಚರಣೆ	ಮಾನವೀಯ ಮೌಲ್ಯಗಳ ವ್ಯವಹಾರೀಕರಣ. ಸಂಸ್ಕೃತಿ/ಮಾನವೀಯತೆಯ ನಾಶ. — " — ಜನರ ಮೂಲ ಪ್ರಾಕೃತಿಕರು. ಸಹಜಾಭಿವೃದ್ಧಿಯ ಅಜ್ಞ-ವಿಜ್ಞ, ನಾಗರಿಕ, ಸೌಲಭ್ಯಗಳ ಪ್ರಭುತ್ವ ಕೆಡಿಮೆ. ಹಿಂಸೆ, ಸೈನಿಕೀಕರಣ, ಲೈಂಗಿಕತೆ, ಪಾಪದ ಪ್ರಾಧಾನ್ಯಗಳ ಮುಕ್ತ ಬಳಕೆ. ಮಾಧ್ಯಮ ಪ್ರಭಾವೀಕರಣ. ಭಾಷಿಕ ಕ್ಷೇತ್ರದಲ್ಲಿಯು ವ್ಯಾಪಿಸಿ, ಪ್ರೇಮೋಜ, ಮೇಲು-ಕೀಳು.	ಅಜ್ಞ-ವಿಜ್ಞ, ನಾಗರಿಕ ಸೌಲಭ್ಯದಲ್ಲಿ ಜನರ ಉಳ್ಳವರಲ್ಲಿ ಸಹಜಾಭಿವೃದ್ಧಿಯಿಲ್ಲ. ಅಧಿಕಾರಶಾಹಿಯ ದಬ್ಬಾಳಿಕೆ. ಪಾಪದ ಪ್ರಾಧಾನ್ಯಗಳ ಮೇಲೆ ನಿಯಂತ್ರಣದ ಆಲಂ ಅಧಿಕಾರಶಾಹಿಯ ಪ್ರಭುತ್ವ. ಸಾಮಾಜಿಕ ಕ್ಷೇತ್ರದಿಂದ ಧ್ವಂಸದ ಉಳ್ಳವರಲ್ಲಿ.	ಸೈಜನಕೆಲಸಗಳು ಮುಕ್ತ ಅವಕಾಶ. ಬಲ್ಲವರ ನಡವಳಿಕೆಯ ಕೆಲಸ, ಮಾನೋತ್ಸಂಬನೆಯ ಒಳಿತು. ಕೆಲವಿದೆಲ್ಲರು – ಸಾಮಾನ್ಯರು ಈ ಭೇದ ಭವ ಕಡಿಮೆ. ಆಚರಣೆಗಳು ಆಚರಣೆ ಭವನ; ಮುಂದುವರಿಸಲು. ಮಾನವ ಮೌಲ್ಯಗಳ ವ್ಯವಹಾರೀಕರಣಕ್ಕೆ ಅವಕಾಶವಿಲ್ಲ. ಕಳ್ಳ, ಸ್ತ್ರೀಯ, ಕಾರಾಗೃ. ನ್ಯಾಯ, ಶಿಕ್ಷೆ, ಪೈಶಾಚಿಕ ಪೈಪೋಟಿ ಪೂರಕ ಅಧ್ಯಾಪಕ ಪ್ರಭುತ್ವದ ಪ್ರಾಬಲ್ಯ ಪ್ರಾಬಲ್ಯ.

ಮಾಗ್ರಹದ ಮುಂದಿನ ಹೋಡಿಕೆಗೆ:

ವಿಲೀನದ ಕಲ್ಪನೆ.

US Using GATT For Biotech Domination

By SUMAN SAHAI

THE cat and mouse game between the United States and India over Special 301 relating to the dispute on intellectual property protection is far from over. Recently, Ms Carla Hills put away her punching gloves and India was let off the hook temporarily. Now Ms Hills confesses to our foreign secretary that Congress is turning the screws and she is finding it hard to withstand the pressure, implying that sanctions are in the offing.

The US Congress wants action against India if it does not agree within the GATT negotiations, to dilute its patent laws to suit American interests, primarily in the sectors of biotechnology and pharmaceuticals. In keeping with its ambitions of political and economic hegemony, the US is attempting to gain monopoly control of key production areas in the global economy, through technological domination.

The pharmaceutical sector has been a traditional money-spinner and is, therefore, targeted under trade-related intellectual property rights (TRIPS) by demanding product patents instead of the process patents that Indian law allows. As for biotechnology, it is without doubt the technology of the future, with the possibility of application in very diverse areas and the promise of enormous profits.

Dominant Clause

Biotechnology governs the manufacture of products derived from living organisms, like foodstuff, vaccines, medicines and even certain categories of chemicals which are manufactured by fermentation technologies based on micro-organisms. The biotechnology sector is sought to be dominated by the clause in American patent law (which we are being forced to accept under TRIPs) which allows the patenting of living organisms, unlike Indian patent law which does not.

One of the most insidious aspects of protection of intellectual property is the demand to patent plant varieties, along with all their subsequent generations, that is their seed. The effort on the part of industrialised countries to extend the scope of patenting and intellectual property rights to living organisms is a blatant departure from tradition and violates the understanding among countries that it would be wrong to limit access to a vital resource like genetic information.

Despite the understanding between nations, international organs like UPOV (union for the protection of plant invention) which deal with the protection of new plant varieties, and the Paris convention relating to industrial patents, have been pressurised to endorse the changes in intellectual property protection desired by industrialised countries.

Traditionally, breeders of new plant varieties have enjoyed breeders rights which have been secured legally by seed trade regulations for more than 50 years. Patent rights were not extended because the requirements of patent law could not be applied to biological material, and even more because of the understanding that biological wealth was a public asset.

In order to hog the advantages to be gained from the biotechnology industry, the United States began to decisively change its patent laws since 1980. The US patent office began to grant patents to biotechnology products produced by recombinant DNA technology, as well as to living organisms like bacteria, plants and finally an entire mouse in 1988. Prior to 1980, US patent laws forbade the patenting of living organisms.

With the new thrust on patenting life forms, an extremely negative precedent is being set. The limiting of a public good available in limitless quantities will curtail the full use of biological potential only to what is patentable and will erect barriers to entry in certain branches of production. This will create monopoly situations inimical to poor and needy populations in the Third World, specially since biotechnology will control the vital sectors of food and medicine.

The greatest damage will, however, be done to the growth and flowering of knowledge because patents will place restrictions on the free exchange of information between scientists, so crucial to the progress of science and the development of new technologies. Considering that many seed companies in industrialised countries are now owned by multinational companies, research and development in biotechnology is getting more and more privatised.

Because of the cost factor, it will become increasingly difficult for the Third World to build local technology capability. We can be sure that technology in the hands of multinational companies will effectively preclude prospects of its transfer on reasonable terms to developing countries. Apart from this, it is entirely likely that the thrust of research will change, so that basic human need will take a backseat and the commercial prospects of multinationals will determine the priorities in biotechnology research.

Apart from restricting scientific freedom and academic advance, the move to patent genes is objectionable from another point of view, and that is to do with the origin of genetic resources. Most plant genetic resources have been concentrated in certain areas of extreme genetic diversity located in tropical and semi-tropical areas. India alone contains an awesome diversity of economically valuable plants.

These vital genetic resources have been appropriated from the Third World by the first world, over the past two centuries, without paying any compensation. These resources have provided genes of enormous commercial importance to agriculture.

The value of these appropriate genetic resources can be placed at many million dollars, and that is the volume by which the agriculture of developed countries has benefited. It is thoroughly dishonest that intellectual property protection should be claimed by multinational seed companies for commercial varieties that have been bred, using genes from the Third World, when this gene use has not been paid for.

Value Of Labour

As far as the value of labour goes, just as the commercial varieties are the result of the efforts of plant breeders, so also the diversity of germ plasm collected from the Third World is the result of the sustained effort of generations of farmers who have carefully observed and selected varieties.

The question then is, how should developing countries react to these moves aimed at scientific imperialism and technological domination of the Third World? There is first of all a great need to put across our point of view strongly and persistently. We must lobby in international fora for recognition of the origin of genetic resources and compensation for that ownership by access to new varieties. The fruits of biotechnology must be equitably made available to countries which are the source of the genes used in those biotechnology products. If the Third World's genetic resources are treated as the common heritage of mankind and available to all, then biotechnologically bred plant varieties based on these resources must also be freely available.

In the long run, developing countries should pool natural and technical resources and conduct joint research to create alternative technologies. It should be clear that building national and collective self reliance is the only protection against the technological hegemony of the North.

THE TIMES OF INDIA

A Thought for Today

Life is the art of drawing sufficient conclusions from insufficient premises.

—SAMUEL BUTLER

Now The Front

After the Samajwadi Janata Dal, the National People's Front. Opposition leaders are, indeed, active, perhaps hyper-active. They have not completed the first exercise in opposition unity and they are launched on the second. There is a "little" difficulty, though. The first exercise is threatening to come unstuck, with the former president of the Janata party, Mr Chandra Shekhar, staying away from the "unity" parleys, the dissident leader in Bangalore, Mr H. D. Deve Gowda, announcing that he would stay on in the "original Janata", and the president of the Lok Dal, Mr H. N. Bahuguna, preparing quietly to avenge the humiliation the Haryana chief minister, Mr Devi Lal, has imposed on him. The second exercise could go the same way. For one thing, it cannot possibly escape the consequences of the troubles in the would-be (or would have been) SJD. For another, the two efforts are not compatible.

While the first move is intended to throw up a party which can not only overcome the Congress but also replicate it in the politically crucial Hindi-speaking belt and thereby dominate the political scene there and, through it, in the whole country, the second seeks to produce a loose arrangement whereby regional parties such as the Telugu Desam in Andhra, the DMK in Tamil Nadu and the Asom Gana Parishad in Assam can get a share in power in Delhi without having to share it with others in their respective states. In plain terms, while the SJD is an attempt to replace the Congress by replicating it, the NPF represents a repudiation of the essentially unitary system over which the Congress has presided for over four decades with the exception of the Janata interregnum between March 1977 and January 1980. Interestingly enough, four formations — the Janata, the Lok Dal, the Congress (S) and the Jan Morcha — and their leaders who are engaged in the first move are also party to the formation of the NPF. Apparently, either they are not aware of the contradiction between the two efforts or they are being cynical. On the face of it, the first appears to be the case. That should tell us something about the nature of Indian politics. Excessive ambition does cloud reason.

It is obviously too early to say whether or not the National People's Front should be taken seriously. The rhetoric of the "unanimously" elected chairman, Mr N. T. Rama Rao, and convenor, Mr V. P. Singh, can, of course, be dismissed straightaway. Imagine Mr Rama Rao providing "purposeful administration to the country" when he has made a veritable mess of Andhra. And as well ask when exactly did Mr V. P. Singh sketch even the outlines of a programme for a "complete socio-economic transformation" of India. But such rhetoric is the staple of democratic politics which the people take in their stride. The critical issue which arises in the second place at this stage is whether the Front can possibly take advantage of the anti-Congress sentiment and come to power in New Delhi. Two points are, however, clear. First, the Front represents an attempt to return to the twilight period of the Moghul empire when powerful satraps ruled the roost and not the emperor in the Red Fort in Delhi. Secondly, the formation of the Front amounts to an admission that despite all that has happened in it and to it in the last two decades, the Congress remains the only national party which can possibly hold the political order together and keep one piece in the country as a whole, regardless of the number of states in which it is in power. After all, the sole *raison d'etre* for the Front can be the desire to defeat the Congress in the electoral battle for power in New Delhi.

The situation in the country today is doubtless very different from what it was in the 18th century. One striking difference is that the British East India Company was then getting ready to capture power in the whole sub-continent. But that is not central to our present concern, though hostile powers on our borders are waiting for the opportunity a weak central authority in Delhi will provide them. In the 18th century, the sword was the arbiter of power. Today, the ballot box plays that role. But this difference is not as sharp as it might appear. The old warrior groups are on the move once again. These groups have never in Indian history thought in terms of a pan-Indian state. The Indian state is perhaps strong enough to withstand the shock that the attempted fragmentation of the political process will administer it. But the agency of the Indian state, the Union government, is a different proposition.

The Dinosaur Mystery

The relatively sudden disappearance of the dinosaurs (the extinct species from which present-day reptiles are descended) about 65 million years ago has posed one of the most challenging riddles to modern science. The species which ruled the earth during the mesozoic period, long before the coming of man, seemed to have been eminently suited for survival. Recent excavations in the British Cotswolds, for instance, have uncovered teeth and bones identified as belonging to at least seven different types of dinosaurs, including a cetiosaur estimated to have knee 27 metres in height. The herbivorous brontosaurus and the carnivorous tyrannosaurs were even larger and, in the latter case, more ferocious. Earlier some scientists had suggested that these formidable creatures got wiped out because of their size and power, which could have caused an ecological imbalance jeopardising their existence. More recently, experts have theorised that the dinosaurs became extinct because of a cataclysmic event, such as a series of asteroid impacts which created a dust cloud that blotted out sunlight, lowered temperatures and reduced both vegetation and the smaller animals on which the larger species preyed. The problem of the asteroid theory was that no physical evidence in the form of craters or other signs of such an impact could be found. Now, however, a team of U.S. scientists have discovered near Houston, Texas, geological evidence that a huge tidal wave, or Tsunami, swept the entire Caribbean region some 65 million years ago, at the time when the dinosaurs died out. Knee-like deposits, a common unusual geological formations in the Brazos river valley, the experts believe that the rippled sandstone, compacted mud and bed of fossil remains that they have discovered are tell-tale signs indicating a great flood that is most likely to have been caused by an asteroid, between five and 10 kilometres in diameter, that hurtled through the atmosphere and plunged into the sea giving rise to a gigantic wave. The leader of the team has expressed the hope that one day the asteroid might be traced at the bottom of the sea. Even if it is not, the Texas findings have added to the circumstantial evidence in the case that science is building up to solve one of evolution's biggest whodunits.

The Restructured Model

II—Can It Inspire The Poor?

By AMALENDU DAS GUPTA

INDIAN communists' misgivings about Mr Gorbachov's reassessment of the imperialist threat are bound to be widely shared in underdeveloped countries. If accepted, it would weaken the basis of communist and other broadly leftist movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America. Even if the view is rejected, the modified Soviet position would deprive these movements of a potential international bulwark against imperialist intervention, of a source of assurance if not active support. But it is not only the *perestroika* in the Soviet Union's international relations that must be a source of unease to the Indian left. Even more there is cause for concern in its domestic restructuring as well.

Marxist Defence

Mr Gorbachov may find a Marxist defence for all his reforms, even those that seem questionable to socialist conscience, on the plea that Marx did not foreclose the question of doctrine, far less a complete blueprint for the organisation and working of a future society. Engels as he himself said, he was not writing "recipes for the cookshops of the future". Even the critique of the Gotha programme does not go much one far; Lenin valued its analysis of stages of communist society, which may have also helped Mr Gorbachov, but it is essentially a polemical document. At any rate, how a marxist society should be organised is less relevant to third world communists than how it can be established.

That communist revolutions have not followed the sequence or pattern envisaged by Marx further affects the relevance of the Soviet theoretical framework. For Lenin Marxism was the guide to a concrete analysis of concrete conditions, whereas for Zedong called it a "guide to action — not in its letter but in its viewpoint and methodology". Both had to improvise. The methodology of ideology that has grown more from the application of Marxist ideas in ways Marx had not quite foreseen than from a literal adherence to the original ideas has certain distinctive features. For one, it does not necessarily postulate of a conflict between the ruling and subordinate classes, but the composition of these classes is more varied and also, at least in the case of the conflict, too, is not always fully conditioned by the forces with which Marx was chiefly concerned.

The ideology as commonly perceived and pursued is much simpler than Marxism. Accordingly, it can be spread appeal and emotive power. The goal, emphatically, is liberation of the oppressed from whatever the nature of exploitation or source of oppression. In a general but highly schematic framework history has been widely presented, and seen, as the hope for all the poor and the weak, for all the deprived and defenceless, for the underdeveloped of the earth — not merely those Fanon wrote about or those Marx had mainly studied. The "enemy" is the prosperous, the privileged and the powerful. The conflict has grown without much change in the definition of class identities in either camp.

The struggle has been the most inspiring when the poor and the oppressed have successfully fought the rich and the mighty, as they did on an epic scale in China or more stunningly in Vietnam. Since they fought under a communist leadership, it also enhanced communism's ideological appeal. Even people who cannot accept many aspects of Marxist thought came to respect the communists' commitment to the cause of the poor and the personal sacrifice it entailed. Here was high idealism; some even perceived a bond between communism and other attempts at urges for anti-suffering and social injustice. Lenin, Mao, Ho Chi Minh, Che Guevara were all seen to have been cast in the similar idealistic mould in which an essential element is a disregard of self-interest and material comfort.

Not only have communists been identified with the poor, they have also been traditionally expected to be close to the poor in their ways of life. In fact, a dichotomy came to be postulated between conviction and high economic, social, and even cultural standards. The rallying cry was for the removal of inequality, especially in distribution. Arguably, this simplified ideology contained some distortion of the ideas of Marx, who held that distribution would follow all be determined by the mode of production and even asked at one point whether the distribution in socialistic society was not to apply "fair" distribution given the capitalist mode of production.

But even if the ideology as it developed in the communist world contained elements of what Marx called "vulgar socialism", this was the source of its compelling base of support. Much of this support may have grown more from emotion than from rational analysis, and may hence be somewhat unstable; parts of the ideology itself may have been more sentimental than "scientific"; but this transformation has helped wider popular participation in communist and other leftist movements.

The appropriation of Marx by the third world's poor has been the most important gain for communism since Marx's own role in changing the course of history.

Social Guarantees

The development of the ideology began with the change in Russia, and became more pronounced with the spread of it to developed countries. To start with, the Soviet leaders were a little sceptical, but later changed their views. Even the theoretical consideration and on a calculation of what they could gain from an international alliance with the Soviet Union urally support the country where the ideology had first been developed and applied. Later began as a model nation became a virtual transformation in China, and later in Vietnam. Further transformations have taken place especially in Latin America and Africa. But despite all this, both the Soviet and Chinese models have continued to inspire the third world's poor and deprived.

That inspiration can these people derive from the restructured Soviet model, or from the economic reforms which China has already redeemed by political reforms? With cold Marxist logic — yes it is Marxist as you will see in the critique of the Gotha programme where Marx has little patience with talk about "equal rights" — Mr Gorbachov has called for "fundamental changes" of revolutionary tendencies", which have a ruinous impact not only on the economy, but also on people's morality and their ability to work and drinking. He has declared: levelling is a reflection of petty-bourgeois views which have nothing to do with Marxism-Leninism or with scientific socialism. And he proposes to withdraw subsidies that keep retail food prices artificially low; let the weak fend for themselves

He concedes that socialism provides social guarantees, but argues that the extent of social protection in society depends on the amount of national wealth, which in turn depends on correct and consistent application of the principle of to each according to his work. So "the individual's well-being, including his living conditions, directly depends on how he uses his aptitudes and talents and contributes to the common effort, for the foreseeable future" he says, "we must adopt the simple decision to encourage to invest. Laws can hardly encourage the poor in the third world fighting for their survival to invest. Would they contribute to higher productivity and especially on the lowest levels? Or on the hope that the development of the productive forces will in any case change the relations of production and solve the problem of distribution?

Nor is there much in the Soviet leader's preoccupation with modern technology to inspire the vast numbers of the third world's unemployed or underemployed. Even in socialist countries such as Poland the problem has supposedly been solved, he dictates of technology could lead to serious social and cultural distortions And although Mr Gorbachov has warned against "technological enchantments, the sharp economic disparities and corruption resulting from the new economic experiments in China may not be a heartening, or perhaps the hopeful Chinese, phenomenon. Cuba had a similar experience after a limited experiment with economic incentives in 1970 and authorities have been fighting neo-bourgeois trends with the slogan, "If Che had seen this, he would have been shocked".

Of course controls too breed corruption, with both political and bureaucratic involvement, the corruption in high places during Brezhnev's last years gave Andropov a weapon to undermine the former's "stagnant" authority. Yet what the Chinese used to call spiritual pollution through capitalist contamination is a theme that Mr Gorbachov does not have to contend with. Though these are internal problems, they cannot but weaken the appeal that socialism of communist ideology, and bewilder its followers. Much confusion and uncertainty have already been caused.

Exporting Revolution

Third world communist movements will also have to reckon with the increasing emphasis on the ideological principle in both China and the Soviet Union. The Chinese, once convinced that the Brahmans were the source of all exploitation, have now specialised in exporting arms to rightist dictatorships in the world. Mr Gorbachov has emphasised that every people and every country should have the right to adopt the social choice and foresees not merely peaceful coexistence but a more cooperative relationship with the West. Communist leaders in these movements elsewhere should gain from greater self-reliance, but the ideological confusion will remain disconcerting. As Fidel Castro recently remarked: If the changes go on in the USSR, they will soon be describing us as those "madmen in the Albania of the Caribbean". Mr Ranadive would be in lively company.

(Concluded)

The Princely Peon

By SUNIL SAXENA

I CAME to know that Hussain was a nawab when some residents of Chowk came looking for him. They had a grievance to be looked into. And since Hussain worked for a newspaper, they presumed that he would be able to help them. But Hussain was nowhere to be found. Neither at the telexprinter room nor in the press; not even at the place where he would go to have his special tea. But he was three-quarters milk with a thick layer of cream floating on top. It was only when the callers were told that Hussain surfaced. Sheepishly, he informed us that he had gone to the post office to avoid meeting the callers.

"Sahib, I did not want them to know that I was working as a peon. I am a nawab," he said with pride pulling his short frame to its full height.

The revelation was confounding. Lucknow is known to have a large population of nawabs and nawabzadas, whose antics and eccentricities, lifestyle and customs have been glamorised both on and off the screen, in print and on the stage. But to have one of these blue-blooded specimens right in our midst was little difficult to believe. It was difficult to accept even when his appearance. He would come to the office unshaved, often in trousers that looked to be washed. But there was one thing on which he could not be faulted: grace. He exuded the old world charm for which Lucknow is famous. His choice of words, and his accent, his style of talking were all reminiscent of Wajid Ali Shah's Lucknow.

He even owned a part of broked down *mahal*. But his main claim to fame was the one rupee salary that he received every month for being a descendant of Nawab Wajid Ali Shah, several generations ago. countless branches removed. Though many of his peers had sold their *waniqas*, to Hussain it was the quintessential soul of his existence, more dear to him than life itself.

It was this passion which kept that had prevented him from working. A turning point in his life was when his wife left him. She had tried to drive some dwindling family fortunes, started working as a school teacher in Hussainabad, a district adjoining Lucknow; in the meanwhile, Hussain had been inconceivable to see a Begum Sahib going to a municipal school to earn a living.

Apparently shamed by his wife's actions, Hussain decided to work. It was difficult to fashion the pain that he must have endured at the idea. But today he is reconciled, preferring "work in the night, a duty not favoured by the pen, to work by day as a respected man, with blue blood in his veins

Current Topics

IN the past few years organ transplant surgery, particularly of kidneys, has made tremendous progress and become almost a commonplace cure for diseases that would otherwise have been beyond treatment. But this medical success story has had a dark side in that the increasing demand for healthy human organs for transplant has reportedly given rise to a grisly clandestine trade whereby live donors, mainly in third world countries, sell their kidneys to affluent patients

According to a recent report from Britain, however, there might soon be a plentiful — and legal — supply of healthy organs, including hearts and livers, the donors of which will be not humans but pigs. British experts in a leading London hospital specialising in transplants are said to be on the verge of a dramatic breakthrough which would revolutionise this life-saving and controversial branch of surgery. The London team claims to have overcome the so far insurmountable problem posed by the biological mechanism which rejects tissue from another species.

Antibody Filter

The surgeons are said to have been permitted to go ahead with an initial six-month experiment in which pig's kidneys will be transplanted into sheep. Earlier experiments have shown that pigs kidneys can function normally with human blood treated with an antibody filter that removes the chemical that causes the biological rejection of foreign tissue.

Of Pigs And Men

Identical Kidneys

The antibody filter was developed some time ago by cousins with sensitivity patients had evinced following a blood transfusion or a kidney.

If the experiment with sheep proves successful, the first human patients could in the not too distant future receive organs supplied by pigs. According to experts, pigs are the most suitable animals for the purpose because physiologically they are horizontal men — or men are vertical pigs: weight for weight their kidneys are almost identical But even if ways are devised safely to circumvent the biological rejection of alien tissue by the human immune system, there will be other formidable technological problems to overcome before pig-to-human transplants could prove at least as difficult to overcome

LETTERS

Caste Conflict

Sir, — Mr Girilal Jain in his article "Kshatriya-Brahmin Equation" (July 27/28) has tried to give a novel definition of "Kshatriya" With reference to the Rajputs one should not go from some events when he says: "The Kshatriya... were a collection of elite formations who depended for their rise and survival... which allowed armed competitions for power."

It is to be noted that the Kshatriyas were relevant in vedic times when society was based on a certain division of labour and not caste. But the word Rajput is an offshoot of a confused and adulterated form of Kshatriya gaining prominence only after tenth century A.D. This is not to be found in the vedas. The word Kshatriya in today's context is irrelevant and to assimilate it to the word Rajput is to confuse history. For it is impossible to say "the Kshatriyas were eliminated as a meaningful factor" by the British after 1857. Historians have cast adequate light on origins of the Rajputs. They all subscribe to the view that the Rajputs belong to a group (which later assumed a caste-form) formed by the mingling of a number of uncivilised and warlike alien races such as the Huns who attacked India and occupied sundry territories

On the other hand Brahmins were unquestionably a religious group who affect their existence but at the same time they had a great deal of resilience. This is evident in their ascending over to professions other than purohiti (priesthood or conductor of rituals) They joined principalities as economic ministers and administrators through different capacities. They became landlords Even today some of them are called Bhumihar Brahmins (Brahmins owning land) in U.P., Bihar and elsewhere because of their enormous landholdings. Thus they retained the social equilibrium giving rise to Naxalite and militant armed uprisings in Bihar and some parts of U.P.

VIJAY KUMAR SINHA

Patna

II

Sir, — Mr Girilal Jain in his scholarly article is largely wrong when he says that movements such as the Brahmo Samaj and the Arya Samaj were "in the main" Brahmin Hindu by undermining popular Hinduism In fact, so far as the Brahmo Samaj is concerned, Rabindra Tagore, Keshav Chandra Sen had led the Brahmo movement to prevent lower caste Hindus and Brahmin Hindus from embracing Christianity It was again a Kayastha, in the form of Swami Dutta, and not Swami Vivekananda, became the greatest son of modern India.

Keshav Chandra Sen, the great Brahmo Samaj leader, later became a follower of Ramakrishna Paramahansa (who incidentally was also a Brahmin, Gadadhar Chattopadhyay), but the Samaj under Raja Rammohun Roy, Devendra Nath, Keshav Sen or Vijoy Krishna Goswami never tried to Brahminise the Hindus.

SUBAL GANGULY

Dehra Dun.

Ministers & Microbes

Sir, — It is a cruel question, but as an honest citizen I must help asking it. How is it that when an epidemic breaks out — or when the common people are in the grip of dread diseases — our honourable ministers and other members of the "privilegentsia" are spared by all the microbes and germs that science or scientist? I give a clue to answer the question you may have to diagnose it. Is it that the microbes are also politic (that is, if our polity has a body)

There is one more question that bothers me. It is less cruel than the first and arises out of my humble concern for ministers and others. Recently, when the monsoon hit India Every day, hundreds of children succumb to water-borne diseases (and remember, we also have family planning). But no governor or minister resigns — or is sacked — on account of it. Why?

And, in the manner of the TV interviewer, one last question, please: Are the poor in Delhi more privileged than the poor elsewhere?

R.G.K.

Bombay.

Singapore Airlines

Sir, — Your news item, "Singapore Airlines to shun 13 cities" (July 29/30), gives the impression that Singapore Airlines is blacklisting Bombay, among 12 other cities in Asia, and not allowing its cabin crew to fly to them.

This is not so. SIA cabin crews were previously given the freedom to exchange their routes mutually among themselves Under the revised procedures, crews can continue to request changes in flights provided they have valid reasons. This move not only enhances crew's flexibility in their work but also enables us to maximise the utilisation of our crew resources. Crew who have valid reasons for not flying to certain destinations will be accommodated — a respectable sum for a cook to save after a few years' tour Mr Louis Mason the Protector of Immigrants says that there can be no doubt that the coolies take kindly to Natal and are drawn back to it after returning to their native land "Large numbers of men and their families, sent back to India afterwards reappear in Natal with the intention of finally settling there. This is more particularly the case with those who have acquired a small property in their own country. Of the 46,000 Indians who returned to India between 1874 and 1885, 6,000 have come back to Natal, and have brought with them 30,000 others. Of these 36,000 have settled in Natal, and have brought with them property to the value of £300,000."

Rehabilitation Of Afghan Refugees

By AJIT S. GOPAL

IT will take up to two years for the returning Afghan refugees to resettle the Afghanistan's food production has been reduced to a third of what it was prior to the Soviet occupation, and it will take at least three years for agricultural production to return to normal levels These are some of the findings made by Danish, Swedish and American scholars working with independent relief organisations

The most extensive research was done by the Swedish office in Peshawar whose representatives visited all of the country's 29 provinces and conducted over 20,000 interviews in 800 villages The chief of the office, Anders Fange, has come out with a new perspective at the time required to rebuild Afghanistan "We should place a zero after the estimated number of years it will take to rebuild Afghanistan — it may take 10 or 20 years before the country is fully rehabilitated"

Farms have been bombed into wasteland, irrigation systems have been destroyed, mines and shells are everywhere. Livestock has been drastically reduced. The study reports that government troops from Kabul systematically shot cattle to death

Many of the problems will be difficult to overcome. Isolated by economic aid from the rest of the world Oxen do not work faster, even if they are offered more money. It is not going to take them, comments Tom Morrison, representative of a consulting firm which participated in the project.

The most important conclusion of the study, therefore, is that the estimated five million refugees which are now in Pakistan and Iran must return to Afghanistan over a long period of time, if they are to avoid famine.

Difficult Conditions

The research workers said the information about the lack of food supplies was obtained under extremely difficult conditions. Of the 68 workers sent inside Afghanistan by the Swedish relief committee of Peshawar, eight disappeared without a trace Others were arrested, while a number fell victim to the ambush Although they were injured and lost all their materials, they were able to make it back to Pakistan.

A Swedish research also indicates that one-third of the farmlands have either been abandoned or laid waste and will take many years to cure. Afghanistan is again able to feed its population, which numbered 15 million before the Soviet invasion in 1979.

According to Mark Chrystian Barkindji, a Swedish relief group, in some valleys almost 80 per cent of the population has fled He adds that over-population appears to be the worst problem at present in the same directions as the Swedish research The situation varies from province to province and from valley to valley.

Says Prof Azam Gul, formerly of the university of Kabul, if all refugees should return at once, it would already more than 400 persons have stepped on mines and been maimed, killed or injured.

Some of the mines that have been found were designed to look like toys, dolls, pens, radios, cigarette cases and watches. Also found were plastic mines with butterfly-like wings, trip-wire mines, pressure plates and seismic mines triggered by vibrations from a passing horse or other pack animal

U.S. Trade Legislation To End Imbalance

WASHINGTON, August 8 (PTI)

A BATTLE royal is expected over the next few years as President Reagan signs the trade legislation completed by Congress last week and the U.S. begins the gigantic task of achieving a $50-billion turnaround in its external accounts reducing the nation's mushrooming debt

The U.S. still the richest nation on earth, has become the world's largest debtor, owing more than all the major third world debtors combined while its huge deficit of $100 billion a year remains stubborn

Congress is more determined to stop this rot and Mr Reagan has promised to sign the legislation which gives the President considerable powers to retaliate against what it considers unfair trade practices, especially in countries with the largest surpluses such as Japan, West Germany, Taiwan and South Korea

The new protectionism is being called by both parties "fair trade" free trade" has been "re-defined" because there is no other major trading partner practising it

Until the last few years, observers here note, the U.S stood aside from the new mercantilism and encouraged imports and consumption in the name of free trade

However, the U.S. trade deficits of over $100 billion annually in recent years and its transformation into the world's largest debtor has created the atmosphere in which Congress could complete legislation and Mr Reagan, a free trader at heart, would announce that he would sign it

The trade legislation is aimed not only against the Japanese but also against the newly industrialising developing countries

A Hundred Years Ago

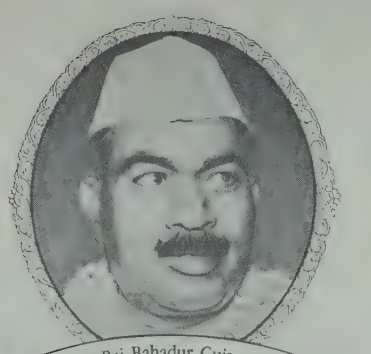
From The Times of India.

THURSDAY, AUGUST 9, 1888

INDIAN COOLIES AT THE CAPE

The Indian coolie, it would seem, finds a congenial home in Natal. According to an official report of the Protector of Immigrants Natal [illegible] Indian coolies [illegible] have as much reason to [illegible] with those of any other [illegible] country. Of the 46,000 Indians who returned to India between 1874 and 1885, 6,000 have come back to Natal, and have brought with them 30,000 others. Of these 36,000 have settled in Natal, and have brought with them property to the value of £300,000."

Even after India gained Independence, he fought on for India's real freedom...



The Late Rai Bahadur Gujarmal Modi

1902-1976

The fascinating story of a man who fought for India's real freedom. Self reliance. And changed the face of Indian industry

Rai Bahadur Gujarmal Modi was born during the years when India was just stirring to the call of freedom

He was deeply affected by the poverty around him. And was quick to realise that there was only one way to better the lives of people. By making India self reliant

He was only in his early twenties, when he set about waging a war against India's fallen economy A war that gave India a new future

A dream come true...

It was as early as 1942 when Gujarmal Modi chanced upon the small sleepy village of Begumabad

Something about the desolate land before him fired his imagination. He had a vision of an industrial township, humming with life, rich in educational and cultural centres, self-contained.

His vision turned into reality, and Modinagar was born, 50 kms north of Delhi. Today, it is a bustling town providing employment to several thousand families. Complete with housing, educational institutions,subsidised canteens, dharamshalas, hospitals, libraries, parks and playgrounds.

Who would believe that just 50 years ago, only criminals and reptiles inhabited this land

He aimed for the stars

Gujarmal Modi's untiring and dogged determination led him to create a vast empire.

There was no stopping him, even against severe odds. For he believed that "Will power to face odds *gives rise to courage in a man*". It was this motto that inspired him along a path strewn with troubles, to finally emerge a victor.

He was convinced that the key to the country's prosperity lay in its industry Because industry would better the people's standard of living and take the country further in its progress

That's why he did not view his enterprises as money making ventures but as sources of capital for many more industries and to create employment for as many as possible. With just one aim — to make India self reliant

He set up a string of industries for products ranging from sugar to paints, electrodes steel threads textiles, synthetic yarn, carpets, tyres and tubes... and many more

When he died in 1976, he left behind a vast industrial empire

The many facets of his greatness... some memorable instances

A strict disciplinarian

He was an example of hard work And would settle for no compromises from himself or from his employees. Yet he was not harsh He always managed to get round his people through tact and love

One day, when still in his early twenties, Gujarmal noticed a watchman sleeping on the job. He was told it was an everyday occurrence Gujarmal was disturbed. But he did not dismiss the worker Instead he told him how much he trusted him, enough to leave the entire factory's protection to him. The worker was ashamed for his negligent behaviour, and later became one of his most trusted workers.

It was this attitude of Gujarmal that made him so dear to all his workers.

Gujarmal instilled these same principles of discipline in his sons He taught them to identify with the workers and to treat them as their equals He made it clear that his sons must achieve their positions through their own hard work and calibre Today his sons, Mr. K.K. Modi, Mr. V.K. Modi, Mr. S.K. Modi, Dr. B.K. Modi and Mr. U.K. Modi hold prominent positions in industry And continue to pursue their father's dream.

Message From The President's Office

The President of India is glad to learn that the Gujarmal Modi Science Foundat on has instituted a cash award for the outstanding Scientist of India and the first award is being presented to Professor Satish Dhawan at a function to be held on August 9, 1988. The President sends his felicitations to Professor Satish Dhawan on the occasion and wishes the Foundation every success in its endeavours

R. Venkataraman

Message From The Vice President

I am glad that the Gujarmal Modi Science Foundation has instituted an Award in recognition of outstanding work by Scientists of our country

I congratulate Prof Satish Dhawan for being the first recipient of this Award

S D Sharma

PRIME MINISTER

MESSAGE

I am happy to know that the Gujar Mal Modi Science Foundation has instituted an award for the outstanding scientists in India. Excellence in science is its own reward, but the award will constitute recognition of innovative research. I am very glad to know that Prof. Satish Dhawan has been chosen for this year's award. His contribution to Indian science has been extremely important.

I wish the Foundation all success.

New Delhi
July 29, 1988

Rajiv Gandhi

The first Gujarmal Modi Innovative Science and Technology Award is being awarded to Prof. Satish Dhawan, for his significant contributions towards the Indian Space Programme

An untiring humanitarian

Gujarmal's concern for the needy was always uppermost in his mind. He always stopped to talk to the poor and needy and was liberal with donations for education, health welfare and marriages

He instituted many public welfare activities.

In 1942, he constructed a Women's Hospital at Mahendra Garh, in memory of his grandmother Mrs Jai Devi, fulfilling a long standing need for a women's hospital

He spent hours trying to improve the lot of his workers. In 1938 he instituted a water supply system for all his employees. Soon canteen facilities were introduced and schools opened for the children

But what won him the hearts of his workers, was his preference for living amongst them. This gave him a real insight into his workers' problems and sorrows and also an opportunity to share their joys. He also ensured that the children of the Modi family studied in the same schools as the workers' children.

He strongly believed in the merits of social integration. And encouraged people of all castes and creeds to work shoulder to shoulder in his organisation

There is one incident the residents of Modinagar still recall with fondness for their founder. In 1956, Modinagar was devastated by heavy floods. The cotton and silk mills were badly damaged, resulting in losses worth crores. But Gujarmal Modi's first concern was for the people of Modinagar. In knee deep water he moved from door to door, distributing rations, clothes and medicines. For all his workers, his name became synonymous with hope and cheer

Gujarmal's single biggest contribution to the cause of public welfare is the Eye Hospital and Opthalmic Research Centre at Modinagar, now working in collaboration with the National Society for the Prevention of Blindness. Gujarmal was determined to make this research centre a model institution for controlling blindness. He also laid the foundation of a hospital which is nearing completion. This hospital will be equipped with the most advanced medical facilities

A staunch believer in God

Gujarmal Modi was a pious, god-fearing man. One who believed that true reverence to God was helping the poor and needy

What is most significant is his belief in the synthesis of all religions. He advocated that all religions are the same. He freely visited all religious places of worship, irrespective of denomination

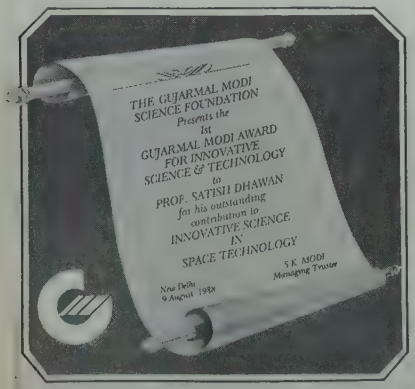
The last hours

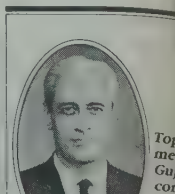
In December '75 he was taken seriously ill and was advised treatment abroad. He refused because he wanted to spend his last few hours in his own country. He was finally taken to Bombay, where he passed away on 22nd January 1976

Prof M G K Menon

Scientific Advisor to the Prime Minister Member Planning Commission Chairman, Panel of Judges of the Gujarmal Modi Innovative Science and Technology Award.

Today, the G M Modi Award for outstanding contribution in innovative sicence will be given to Professor S.K. Dhawan by Dr. S.D. Sharma, the Vice President of India at Vigyan Bhawan. Shri Madhavsinh Solanki, Minister of Planning & Programme Implementation will preside over the function. Smt. Shiela Dikshit, Minister of State Parlimentary Affairs and Prime Minister's Office will be the guest of honour.





Top scientist awarded... in memory of the Late Rai Bahadur Gujarmal Modi's commitment to science and technology.

Today, Prof. Satish Dhawan is being awarded the First Gujarmal Modi Innovative Science and Technology Award by the Modi Science Foundation, founded by the late Rai Bahadur Gujarmal Modi

This award will be presented every year for the most outstanding innovative contribution made in research and could well become the most coveted annual award amongst Scientists and Technologists. This was the late Rai Bahadur Gujarmal Modi's wish

Message From Minister of State Parliamentary Affairs & Prime Ministers Office

I am happy to know that The Gujarma Mod Science Foundation has instituted an Award for Innovative Research in the field of science and I send my good wishes for the success of the award-giving function

Shiela Dikshit

Message From Minister of Planning and Programme Implementation

After Independence, there has been a sustained effort in our country to develop infrastructure and capabilities in different disciplines of Science and Technology covering a diverse spectrum. Many of our eminent scientists and technologists have contributed for the accomplishment of our goals. Prof. Satish Dhawan is one amongst those who has been a moving force behind the Indian Space Programme after Dr Vikram Sarabhai.

I am very happy to learn that Prof. Satish Dhawan has been selected for the Award of Outstanding Scientist of India by the Gujarmal Modi Science Foundation. He is an eminent academician, an outstanding engineer and an excellent manager. As Chairman Space Commission and Chairman Indian Space Research Organisation, after Dr. Vikram Sarabhai, who laid the foundation of Space Research in our country, Prof. Dhawan's efforts and dynamic leadership gave a very significant boost to our Space Programme. The role of a direct broadcast ing Satellite as a Nationwide Television system emerged by Dr. Sarabhai, has been made a reality through Prof. Dhawan's efforts in the INSAT Programme. It today Space Technology is in use in our country for communication, survey and management, environmental monitor ng and meteorolog cal services. It is largely due to the team effort of the Space Scientists led by Prof. Dhawan, in addition to various [illegible] societies and academies, Prof. Dhawan has been the recipient of Padmashri, Padma Bhushan (1971) and Padma Vibhushan Awards (1981) of the Government of India.

I wish him more such distinctions and also would like to convey my good wishes for the success of the functions.

Message from [illegible] All India Congress

Dear Satish

It is my great privilege to send you the message of good wishes on the occasion of creation of Science Foundation on the birth anniversary of your revered father late Rai Bahadur Gujar Mal Modi and giving the first Award of the Foundation to Prof. Satish Dhawan an outstanding [illegible]

I am happy to join felicitations on this occasion and convey my hearty congratulations to Prof. Dhawan on being awarded this Award.

With best wishes

Space Courtesy Modi Rubber Limited, Godfrey Phillips India Limited & Modi Threads Limited

THE TIMES OF INDIA

A Thought for Today

Dictators ride to and fro upon tigers which they dare not dismount. And the tigers are getting hungry.
—ANONYMOUS

Zia's Increased Clout

Regardless of Moscow's recent reprimand, Pakistan is unlikely to respect the Geneva accords on Afghanistan other than in the breach. It reckons, not wholly without reason, that Soviet warmings can be safely ignored since they cannot possibly be followed by stern action. Such is the unpopularity of the Afghan misadventure in the Soviet Union that the Kremlin leadership is in no mood to stall the withdrawal of its troops. Indeed, some articles in the Soviet press, as well as a recent statement by a Soviet general, go so far as to suggest that Moscow must pull out of the Afghan quagmire even if it entails the collapse of the Najibullah government. All this is sweet music to Pakistani ears. Islamabad has indeed taken every care to ensure that the Mujahideen do not preserve their energies and their ammunition, for the big decisive catch. The massive missile attacks on Kabul during the last fortnight, which momentarily caught the Najibullah government off its guard, provides a vivid insight into the Pakistani military mind.

Without fresh supplies of sophisticated arms, and notably of longer range surface-to-surface missiles, the Mujahideen would not have been able to inflict the damage they did during the recent attacks. The surprise element in all this is the inaction of the United Nations. Its observer team in Pakistan appears to have been side-lined. The mission of Diego Cordovez, the representative of the U.N. secretary-general, also appears to have run out of steam. Unless the U.N. is given a vastly more important role — including the threat of military might its auspices — it is only a matter of time before President Zia realises his dream of installing in Kabul a clone of his own fundamentalist regime.

Infighting Goes On

With the extension of President's rule in Tamil Nadu for another six months, it was expected that the feverish pace of political realignment in the state would slow down a bit. But the internal conflicts in the AIADMK and the Janata Munnetra Kazhagam (JAIADMK) have acquired a momentum of their own. Ms Jayalalitha has moved decisively against her detractors. Just when the dissidents in her faction were thinking of calling a meeting of the present council of the party to strip her of the leadership, she literally rose from a sickbed to expel Mr. Nedunchezhiyan, Mr S. Ramachandran, Mr S. Thirunavukkarasu and Mr. Ramanathapuram Chinnaiah. They were obviously hoping to take advantage of her self-imposed two months' rest from political activity. These gentlemen have now been disillusioned. But it has been evident to one and all in Tamil Nadu and beyond that the former film actress is determined to play the leading lady at least in her faction, in the same manner as did her mentor, the late MGR. While the old guard accuse her of being dictatorial, there is no hesitation in rejecting their demand for collective leadership because she is convinced that she remains the best crowd-puller in Tamil politics. Moreover, the kind of ugly and unsavoury accusations her critics have made against Ms Jayalalitha in recent weeks virtually rule out any possibility of patching up, except on her terms.

Ms Jayalalitha has once again seized the initiative. The burden now is on her critics to prove that they have the necessary support in the party to make the lady mend her ways. This applies to the pro-Congress(I) and anti-Congress(I) groups in Tamil Nadu politics. Ms Jayalalitha has calculated, somewhat shrewdly, that Mr Nedunchezhiyan and others cannot possibly go back to the Janaki Ramachandran group except on very humiliating terms. And by provoking a showdown, she has also acquired the image of a hapless woman standing up to some crafty, political heavy-weights. Her hand has also perhaps been forced by the Congress show of disinterest in doing business with her. Meanwhile, the Congress is not showing any signs of benefiting from the ministrations of Mr G. K. Moopanar. There remains the possibility of confused and disillusioned district leaders of the AIADMK presidium Ronald Reagan of Mr Karunanidhi. But it would be a mistake for all to underestimate Ms Jayalalitha's capacity to make her presence felt in Tamil Nadu politics. Her opponents have, of course, deprived her of the office of general secretary of the AIADMK and offered her only the old post of propaganda secretary she had held under MGR. But that is meaningless. The battle is on and Ms Jayalalitha retains the initiative.

Errors Of Comedy

That an ill-considered punch line can constitute a case of assault and battery on diplomatic relations, not to mention good taste, was demonstrated some time ago when a TV microphone accidentally picked up Ronald Reagan's current off-the-quip remark that he had just "banned" the Soviet Union and ordered the bombers over. It is to the credit of the so-called Evil Empire that it chose not to take seriously the U.S. president's unfortunate foray into wit without wisdom. The episode, however, does not seem to have inhibited Mr Reagan from once again putting his foot in his mouth, this time regarding a fellow-Democrat, the Democratic presidential candidate, Mr Michael Dukakis. Asked at a recent press conference whether he felt Mr Dukakis should make public his medical reports following rumours that he had been treated for depression some years ago, the current incumbent of the White House reportedly retorted, "I'm not going to pick on an invalid." Though Mr Dukakis graciously dismissed the remark as a slip of the tongue that did not call for an apology, Mr Reagan subsequently admitted that "I don't think that I should have said what I said," a confession that some might feel should have been restricted to the first three words only. Those of the opinion that the game of politics itself is often a sick joke had their view endorsed by the British Labour party leader, Mr Neil Kinnock, who during a recent visit to Africa made a quip-and-be-dead jest at Mrs Margaret Thatcher's expense, which apparently failed to amuse his hosts and caused a public furore in his own country. Closer to home, Mr Rajiv Gandhi, who is known for his less than wisecracks, outdid himself a while ago when during the course of an exchange in the Lok Sabha he referred to a Communist M.P. as "Groucho".

The Restructured Model

I — Primacy Of Productive Forces

By AMALENDU DAS GUPTA

RONALD Reagan and Russi Mody are among those who have lately been provoked to invoke Mikhail Gorbachov. President Reagan has said: He is himself — no imitation of anyone that I've ever known. Mr Mody, the TISCO chairman, told a Rotary Club meeting in Calcutta; What India needs today is a Margaret, Thatcher or a Gorbachov. The irony is obvious, but clearly the admiration is for the Soviet leader's personality or restructuring courage and style, not for what he is trying to build. He has not become a convert to capitalism; he is only trying to change a particular model of socialist practice.

Whether this attempt entails any deviation from the principles of scientific socialism has become a subject of intense debate. Mr Gorbachov has repeatedly invoked what he claims to be Leninist sanction for his reforms and occasionally mentioned both Lenin and Lenin in defence of Eurocommunist revisionism. Santiago Carrillo argued that Lenin was the first important Marxist to look beyond Marx. But the point is not important here, because it may be possible to show that some of the basic ideas which Soviet changes are closer to Marxist theory than to Leninist practice, despite the parallel being drawn between the economic reforms and Lenin's NEP.

Marxists' View

That certainly would be the view of many European Marxists, who maintain that their western Marxism is the true Marxism. Leszek Kolakowski, David McLellan, the British Marxist scholar, has for example argued that Marx was not a communitarian, but the inheritor of all the positive tendencies inherent in western capitalism, particularly the individual liberties (albeit very partial) and its economic wealth, that the combination of Marxism and underdevelopment has created such problems, particularly a tendency to authoritarian government, that bear little relation to Marx's own conceptions.

To this school it must be reassuring that, after distortions due to Russian underdevelopment, Soviet society is trying to acquire some of the virtues inherent in western society, in human attainments in technology, and in democracy. But surely Marx had a great deal to say about the evils that the so-called positive tendencies had brought, this indeed was central to his economic and social analysis. He also foresaw the need for a socialist transformation during the transition from a capitalist to a communist society, not to speak of the need after a successful revolution in an underdeveloped society where the alternative to proletarian revolution, as Carrillo concedes, was not democracy but a return to autocratic military dictatorship, with a savage bloodbath.

Marx also expected the change he envisaged to be international, despite the predicted heightening, in developed west. At one point he even mentioned the possibility of a beginning in Russia, a possibility also considered in the preface to the Russian edition of the communist manifesto. While the latter was a perfectly legitimate inspiration for communist movements in underdeveloped countries, it was based on his writings that can be cited in support of western Marxist arguments. This apparent contradiction arises from parallel but complementary aspects of Marxist thought.

Marx postulates two kinds of tension or conflict: one between the forces of production and the production relations which determine the economic structure, and the other between the ruling classes and those they keep in bondage. The development of the productive forces and the inability of the existing economic structure to contain it leads to a change in the structure, but the proletariat is asked to hasten the historical process. In one respect, Marxism is a study of the economic law of motion of modern (capitalist) society, and therefore, in a sense, a call, to action for its dissolution and the establishment of a socialist order.

According to orthodox Marxism it may have been unfortunate that the change was brought about in Russia before an adequate development of the productive forces. Engels had explained: only at a certain level of development of the productive forces of society, an even very high level for our modern condition, does it become possible to raise production to such an extent that the abolition of class distinctions can be a real progress, can be lasting without paralysing, or even bringing about, a decline in the mode of social production. True socialism can thus begin only with enough wealth in society's disposal and the productive forces to create more wealth.

Constant Emphasis

Though this is not what happened in Russia, and though the productive forces in Russian society have developed enormously even without a previous capitalist base, Mr Gorbachov's complaints about stagnation, his constant emphasis on higher production and productivity, his preoccupation with the problem of application of science and technology have all a familiar ring. His willingness to make use of the advantages of capitalism in production does not negate the Marxist belief that the productive forces can be fully developed only under socialism. Only then can they be harnessed or modified. If Marx expected socialist society to build upon capitalist productive forces rather than changing the economic structure, Mr Gorbachov seems confident that since this change in the Soviet Union brought about by social ownership of the means of production is irrevocable the time has come to widen the range and increase the strength of the productive forces.

Hence his interest in western technology, and in western capital to develop this technology in the Soviet Union. Hence his emphasis on initiatives and individual initiative; on decentralisation, self-employment, self-financing and self-management; on cost-effectiveness, accounting, auditing and accountability; on cooperative, contract and lease arrangements; on greater responsiveness to consumer demand. Hence also his interest in delimiting the functions of party and state bodies: he has not abandoned the Leninist concept of the party's vanguard role, but has set out to curb the bloated type of administration and economy binders production. And hence his impatience with the bureaucratic distortion of a workers' state.

Mr Gorbachov may have also discovered that bureaucratic control not only impedes production but it itself the result of insufficient production. The point was made long ago by Leon Trotsky, who argued that when he said: The basis of bureaucratic rule is the poverty of society in which the struggle for necessities revives in a renewed form all the old abominations. The bureaucracy arises from the fact that in society, possessing an insufficient quantity of articles necessary for the whole population, the struggle for a place at the supply table threatens to assume the character of a universal battle of all against all, the scramble making control, and hence the bureaucracy, necessary.

Mr Gorbachov has spoken of the inexhaustible opportunities intrinsic in the individual in socialist society. The new focus on the individual is not heresy; its origins can be traced in Marx's Paris manuscripts of 1844 and the Grundrisse. And did not the communist manifesto envisage an association in which the free development of each is a condition for the free development of all? Mr Gorbachov would not claim that Soviet society has reached this stage of voluntary cooperation, but the point is that the idea of human freedom is not alien to Marxist thought. In a sense it was Marx's central concern, especially in his theory of alienation, regardless of whatever reservations one may have about his conception of freedom indicated in other contexts.

Humanism or the human face of socialism, which is another major Gorbachov theme, has also a Marxist background, notably in the 1844 manuscripts. As for spiritual and moral values, Marx too regards the spiritual as a part of the developed human consciousness, even though its basis is material life, and Engels spoke of a human morality as distinct from class morality. But it is difficult to determine what exactly Mr Gorbachov means by universality at this stage. His conception of spiritual and moral values, too, seems somewhat different from that of orthodox Marxism, considering his interest in non-violence and in freedom of conscience and religion which Marx was openly distrustful.

Democracy, which the Soviet leader has repeatedly stressed as an urgent need in Soviet society, was not clearly and consistently upheld by Marx as an autonomous ideal, and Lenin rightly assailed Kautsky's mistaken claim that dictatorship of the proletariat had been only once in history, mentioned by Marx. But it can be held that the final Communist society would be the consummation of true democracy. Even the Communist manifesto observed that the first step in the working class revolution would be to raise the proletariat to the position of ruling class, to win the battle for democracy.

Central Thrust

Mr Gorbachov's ideas of democracy and democratisation, however, are much closer to what these words mean in the Marxist usage: he has even conceded the need for a plurality of opinions and a diversity of forms of political participation, though based on socialist principles. His concern for democracy, humanism, individual potentialities and spiritual values is not, therefore, alien to Marx in certain ideas already present in Marxist thought but in a more ambiguous form. This should not be regarded as his own contribution to Marxism-Leninism, which is at variance with Marx who, Lenin said, had laid the cornerstone of the science which socialists must advance in all directions.

But the central thrust of Mr Gorbachov's reforms, which he wants to be strengthened as much by a change in the ideological outlook as by harder work and greater discipline, is the development of the productive forces, which Marx saw as the motive power in historical change. This is the perspective which Mr Gorbachov expects a restructured Soviet society to create through the development of the productive forces, which Marx saw as the motive power in historical change. This is the perspective which Mr Gorbachov expects a restructured Soviet society to create through the development of the productive forces, which Marx saw as the motive power in historical change. This is the perspective which Mr Gorbachov expects a restructured Soviet society to create through the development of socialism. And he shares, even more than Lenin did in his call for electrification, Marx's faith in technology as the principal instrument of progress. No wonder the west has reacted so sympathetically to the reforms announced to St Michael, though Archangel Michael's good work against Stalinist evil may have pleased the west more.

(To Be Concluded)

Mr Amalendu Das Gupta is a former editor of *The Statesman*, Calcutta.

The Blue Mountains

By VIMLA PATIL

AS we begin our ascent into the hills, the birdcalls become clear and metallic. The forested hills of the Nilgiris rise solemnly, range after range and on both sides of the road, eucalyptus trees point skyward, making the moist monsoon air fragrant with their balmy, heady scent.

It has just rained in this thick green-foliaged forest. Raindrops, like little jewelled pendants, gently hang daintily from every leaf and branch. Down, under the trees, summer's yellowed leaves lie in a wet, squishy layer. Between the crevices of rocks, turbulent streams gather force, and leaping down the weather-rounded boulders, they mingle with jungle rivers.

Suddenly, there is silence. And then heavy footsteps sound on the crunchy leaves. At a turn in the road, stands a herd of wild elephants, joyously savouring the green grass and delighting in its fresh taste. As human sounds disturb their routine, they are on an immediate alert. The young calves form the core of their circle. Then come the females. The powerful males shriek with anger, trumpeting loudly and stomping the red mud with their feet.

A little distance ahead, groups of spotted deer wander among the trees. Their eyes limpid pools of beauty, the deer scamper away, like nimble-footed pictures of liquid grace. In a dark mysterious clump of trees, two lustrous eyes glint. Hidden in the darkness, stands a sturdy neelgai, unmoved by the hectic activity of the jungle, with its raindrop tip-tap to a rhythm and where monkey families leap from swinging creepers chattering with delight.

The rain-dark clouds have hidden the gold-orb of the sun all day. Only a few radiant beams escape from the clouds to throw spotlights on jungle clearings. Along the western horizon, the nubulous clouds begin to acquire fine silver linings. The sky slowly turns grey, then indigo and then finally the with it's nuances of colour.

Then on the treetops, there is first a circle of lightning. As the clouds rumble, dramatic needles of rain shoot downwards catching the sunbeams and glinting like a cascade of crystals.

In the thick mist that covers the hills, the animals vanish, adding to the deep mystery of the enveloping silence of the jungle. The smell of spices — pepper, cloves cardamoms and bark drawn from the wooded hills and makes this a forest of fragrance.

And then at last, the silvery rays spring of the sunset sky slowly fade. In their place come heavy, grey clouds, moist with the monsoons and touched with gold here and there. As the sun slowly sinks behind the spectres of jungle trees, the blue mountains slowly dip into the inky night, truly living up to the beautiful name of Nilgiris.

Current Topics

RESEARCH in the electrical disturbances in the heart's rhythm has yielded a useful technique for saving some categories of heart patients by cutting out up to one-tenths of their heart. Britain's leading cardiologist, Prof Ronald Campbell, who pioneered in the surgical technique, has reported a heartening 80 per cent survival ratio among the patients whose hearts were excised of areas showing 'abnormal rhythms' or 'electrically unstable cells' accounting for as much as a tenth of the heart's volume.

The researcher, who works at the Freeman hospital, in Newcastle-on-Tyne, and after surviving a heart attack, some patients run the risk of dying if their heart's electrical rhythm went wrong. The surgeon's first read the heart's "electrical signature" and were able to identify the abnormality and its location. New techniques available to medical science could facilitate a delicate probe between the areas of electrically unstable and unstable cells. As in many cases, the first hint that patients could survive an excised heart came from an emergency where a pregnant woman who had a cardiac arrest was kept alive to deliver, but suffered another attack and the technique was tried out as a 'desperate' remedy. Although only five per cent of heart patients surviving an attack have this condition, the new insight may open new vistas.

'A Part Of Heart New Techniques

Bombay.

No Sanctuary

Sir, — This refers to the news item "TNV factions regrouping with Bangla help" (July 25). The government of Bangladesh has had nothing to do with TNV, let alone provide sanctuary to them.

SHAH HUSAIN IMAM
Minister (Press)
Bangladesh High Commission
New Delhi.

LETTERS

Plain Speaking

Sir, — Mr Girilal Jain has done some plain speaking about the Congress and the Samajwadi Janata Dal. It has helped to clear the air.

Our society is segmented — what is worse, it is fragmented! The mere fact that this segmentation does not justify its politicisation, segmentwise. Mr Jain's view that the Congress alone has been able to cut across all divisions in Indian society, especially caste ones among Hindus, exposes the inadequacy of segment-wise politicisation. These artificial caste or communal divisions get obliterated only in socialist societies which recognise only two divisions, the haves and the have-nots.

Mr Jain has done well to state that the new political alliance (the SJD) is a mere aggregate of diverse elements. Mere aggregation, he rightly observes, cannot make for unity of purpose and direction. The Congress, though "an umbrella organisation" or an aggregate of diverse elements, has a unity which is not easy either to define or explain. I fail to understand why Mr Jain thinks that the problem of basic unity defies to define or explain. Born during the protracted struggle for freedom under the stewardship of Mahatma Gandhi, it has successfully stood the test of time. Much the same thing can be said about the unity of the Soviet Union forged in the fiery crucible of World War II. This is the only reason why the Congress, despite Bofors and other scandals, is backed by a majority of Indians.

D. D. PINGLAY
Dombivli.

40 Years Later

Sir, — Forty years of independence for the people of India is a question worthy of being an alternative to the ruling party. Except for the Communists, none of the opposition leaders are disgruntled members who have walked out from the original Congress. Power and personal ego have been the only motivating factors which is one of the main causes of the disunity that prevails.

We, as the people, are mainly to blame for this state of affairs, for it is our apathy that has resulted in political chaos, leading to a leadership crisis. It is strange that in a country with some 800 million people, we cannot look beyond a few politicians to rule us.

What we need is a drastic overhaul of the system. In some countries, the political parties, in power, are ultimately burst into a revolution. I am not advocating one nor is one necessary, but the apathy with politicians have very shrewdly divided us on the basis of caste, creed, community, language and regional region. Even those politicians who have risen to white-collar occupations, their dishonesty in politics have thrown those ideals to the winds when it has come to fighting an election.

Can we not help form a national people's movement whose ultimate aims would be to have an open government, with elected bodies to controls and regulations; rationalise, simplify and reduce taxes; accord top priority to the basic needs of clothing and housing; work for judicial and electoral reforms; guarantee freedom of the media; nationalise the Doordarshan and All India Radio; delink the bureaucracy and the police from political interference; encourage the private sector, and agriculture along with industry for balanced growth, and allow the free flow of foreign capital and the import of gold to help curb hawala transactions and smuggling.

Such a movement would like to join such a movement should drop me a card at 219, N. M. Joshi Marg, Bombay-400 013.

PHIROZE AMROLIWALLA
Bombay.

Mindless Approach

Sir, — This is with reference to the news item in your newspaper (July 27/28) about the police being asked due to the callous and mindless approach of another doctor in charge of the laboratory of nuclear magnetic resonance (NMR) at the Institute of Nuclear Medicine and Allied Sciences (INMAS). It is high time that the Government established that every advance in research in any medical field, whether fundamental or applied, needs a human subject. Hypocritic, is ultimately aimed at alleviating human suffering.

The refusal by the film of Dr Kalra's NMR to the neurosurgeon who could have made the best use of it in planning proper surgery and saving a life is a most unfortunate and inhuman. It is even more surprising because the patient was prepared to pay for the film. Even though the NMR facility is basically meant for defence research, the film of Dr Kalra's NMR investigation is by no stretch of the imagination a defence secret to be guarded at all costs. The life of a doctor is at stake and there is no business for the film to stay and rot in the archives of the laboratory, serving no useful purpose, when it could save a life if utilised in time and properly.

(Dr.) C.P. DALVI
Bombay.

Promoting Education Among Muslims

By IMTIAZ AHMAD

EVER since the announcement of the national policy on education two years ago the educational development of the minorities has been receiving increased attention. Underlying this concern is the recognition that education constitutes an important instrument of social and economic transformation and so long as there persist social communities which are educationally backward the goal of national development and integration would continue to elude us.

Of the social communities characterised as minorities, no question to the effect that they are educationally backward has been raised in respect of the Sikhs, Parsis and Jews. The Christians would seem to face the problem of educational backwardness. However, in their case too the Christian elite has never actually raised any question. It appears that the fact of the existence of a vast network of Christian missionary educational institutions throughout the length and breadth of this country has been accepted as an assurance that the problem of their educational backwardness is adequately taken care. This leaves only the Muslims.

Social Composition

Though we lack statistical evidence, it is clear that Muslims are educationally deprived and under-represented and have not been responding to educational expansion and development. The reasons for this are inherent in the social and economic structure of the community. There are no reliable statistics on the social composition of Muslims in India in terms of income and occupational distribution.

The only fragmentary evidence as we possess, however, suggests that large sections of Muslims are economically deprived. First, their per capita income is much below the average. Second, their income distribution shows much less disparity and the situation than is true of the general population. Third, they are very poorly represented in the top 10 per cent of the income and occupational pyramid, though their share in the bottom three decile groups is also less than their share in the population. Finally, they are mostly self-employed in relatively low income-generating occupations. However we cannot say for sure whether this concentration is structural or imposed by real or received fears of exclusion and discrimination in more secure and better sectors.

Education is perceived by the Muslim mass of people within all social communities in clearly mercenary terms. They see it largely as a means of entry into the well established secular schools. The general effects of such community schools have been to alienate the people from the viewpoint of increasing the educational preparedness of average Muslim youth and reducing the size of the educated among Muslims. Such a strategy ought to be backed by an active campaign that would inform them of the relevance of secular education.

However, to lay stress on internal resources and community initiative for the educational development of the Muslims is not to suggest that supportive role on the part of the state is not simultaneously called for. Indeed, state support would be necessary even for the success of community initiative. Educational planning and administration must find ways and means in which back-up action by the state is given to community initiative for the educational amelioration of Muslims.

Steps to improve

Indo-Pak tourism

NEW DELHI, August 7 (PTI): The second joint convention of the Indian Association of Tour Operators (IATO) and the Travel Agents Association of Pakistan (TAAP) is scheduled to take place in Delhi in early December to promote and encourage Indo-Pak tourism.

According to a news bulletin by the India-Pakistan Chamber of Commerce and industry, the first ever joint convention held in Lahore in March this year had recommended opening up of Pakistan and India to group tourist traffic, issuing of visas without delay and exemption from police reporting and endorsements on passports.

The convention decided to set up a joint committee to take up follow-up action.

The convention resolved that to begin with group traffic would be permitted from both sides on agreed itineraries.

A Hundred Years Ago

From *The Times of India*
WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 8, 1888

There is an article in the July number of the *Calcutta Review* which seems hardly to have attracted the attention which it deserves. It is an appeal by Mr H. Beveridge, C.S., to the multitudes of India, though his conclusions are addressed rather more particularly to the people of Calcutta to make an effort to remove from the ancient metropolis the reproach that they are a purely unselfish, not a historic, but a historian. "There is a great stir nowadays," says Mr. Beveridge, "about nationality. We have national congresses and songs. It seems to me, however, that nothing really solid can be effected in this way until the Bengal and the other races of India make a profound study of their past"...

With regard to the employment of Sir Dinshaw Petit's gift of a lakh and a quarter, he thinks that it is the theoretic or sentimental view, appears to the *Indian Spectator* to have prevailed, as against the utilitarian. There has been no complaint has ever been heard from students of the Grant Medical College as to lack of medical observation for want of endowment — we should like to be corrected on these points...

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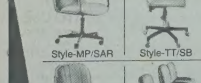

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Token fast over Modi murder

LUCKNOW, August 7 (UNI): More than a hundred prominent sportsmen today observed a token fast and staged a day-long dharna outside the K. D. Singh Babu stadium in protest against the murder of badminton star Syed Modi.

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Nayanar justifies relief from abroad

The Times of India News Service

TRIVANDRUM, August 7: The chief minister, Mr E. K. Nayanar, has said that there was nothing wrong in collecting donations from abroad for the "chief minister's distress relief fund".

Replying to the Congress leader Mr Oommen chandy's letter on the state government's appeal for funds for the July 8 Perumon accident victims published in a Gulf newspaper, Mr Nayanar said yesterday the donations were asked to be sent to the finance secretary and not to any other individual or organisation.

He also felt that no law prevented the state government from collecting such donations from abroad. Also, there was no need for a special scheme to provide relief to the train disaster victims.

Accepting that rail safety was the duty of the railways he said the state government only intended to spend the money to build two foot-bridges across the Ashtamudi lake for the people of Perumon.

Mr Nayanar said the task of placing the advertisement in a leading Kuwaiti daily was entrusted to the representative of a Gulf-based newspaper who had come to interview him on the last month.

Traffic on National Highway No. 8, near Kheda, came to a standstill as the road was cut-off by flood water from the Vatrak river.

14 feared drowned in Gujarat floods

AHMEDABAD, August 7 (PTI).

THE flood situation in Kaira district of central Gujarat remained grim on the second day today, as the river Mahi started rising alarmingly.

Stay on dissolution of MP co-op.

The Times of India News Service

RAIPUR, August 7: The Jabalpur bench of the Madhya Pradesh high court has stayed the dissolution of the board of directors of the Bilaspur housing co-operative society founded by the assembly speaker, Mr Rajendra Prasad Shukla.

Admitting a writ petition by seven registrars of the society, the largest in the state, the court has directed the deputy registrar of co-operative societies, Bilaspur, not to take any decision regarding the society till the disposal of the petition.

The petition was filed pending a suit in the civil court which has also stayed the dissolution of the board of directors. The deputy registrar had challenged the stay contending the civil court had no jurisdiction to grant it. However, the court had turned it down.

The dispute is a fallout of the infighting in the Thakkur lobby of the Congress in the state. The co-operative department's action in dismissing the board is seen as instigated by the speaker whose hold over the board had slipped lately.

Following the death of Mr D. P. Chaube in June, Mr Shrikumar Agarwal was elected president at the July 4 meeting of the board. Mr Agarwal is a vocal opponent of the speaker in the Chhattisgarh region, though he is also a supporter of the chief minister, Mr Arjun Singh.

Later, two directors belong to the Shukla group had allegedly produced an order from the deputy registrar declaring the July 4 meeting illegal, which the board refused to accept.

The deputy registrar then suspended the election of Mr Agarwal as chairman and initiated proceedings to dissolve the board which was challenged by the directors.

Atleast seven downstream villages in Kaira taluka of the district were inundated this morning, reports received here said.

Some 14 persons and livestock have been feared drowned in the flood at Devrapura village in the taluka.

Boats were pressed into service to rescue over 200 people marooned in the villages, which were cut off from rest of the district, reports added.

Food packets were being distributed to the marooned people of the town and three other villages, the reports said.

Meanwhile, the water level was receding in Kheda town, as the levels of the Vatrak and Dehi rivers were going down, with the closure of the gates of the Vatrak dam in the district after, 7,200 million cubic metre of water was released.

However, the Narmada river was still flowing at the danger mark at the Golden Bridge near Borach town.

Lucknow (PTI): The toll due to rains, house collapses and floods shot up to 112 in Uttar Pradesh with ten more deaths reported during the past 24 hours, as the Ganga and Yamuna continued to flow above the danger marks at various places in the state.

Five casualties were reported from Lakhimpur Kheri, three from Banda and two from Ballia district.

Over 12 places, including Lakhimpur Kheri, Ballia, Narodi, Mathura and Elgin bridge in Barn Banki, are in the grip of severe floods.

At Naroda, the Ganga was flowing 30 cms above the red mark while at Ballia its level was 72 cms above the danger level.

The Yamuna was flowing 55 cms above the danger mark at Mathura today. The river is rising all along its course, except at Naini in Allahabad, according to official reports.

Over 28 districts have so far been affected by the current floods in the state.

Nearly 24,000 people in 66 villages of Ballia and over 4000 hectares of land have been affected by floods and water logging.

Meanwhile, the Yamuna has crossed the red mark at Dadara in Shahjahanpur district.

The worst-affected districts include, Basti, Gorakhpur Gonda, Bahraich and Moradabad.

Belgaum (PTI): Most parts of Gokak town and surrounding villages in the vicinity of Hidakal dam, on the Ghataprabha river in Karnataka, have been inundated following the opening of the dam gates, the police said here today.

The level in the dam had touched the danger mark due to the long spell of rains in the district.

People have been evacuated from these villages which include Dhavaleshwor, Hunashihal, Masarguppi and Adibatti, according to a police press note.

Reports reaching the district headquarters from Khanapur said two water tanks at Halasi and Golhalli had been breached.

Those residing on the banks of river Krishna have also been cautioned as the river is flowing above the red line at Jarward, Sanadi, Hulagbali and Satij.

Bhatinda (PTI): The railway traffic on the Bhatinda-Delhi broad gauge section was restored on Sunday.

2 die of gastro in Andhra

MACHILIPATNAM, (Andhra Pradesh), August 7 (UNI): Two girls died of gastro-enteritis and over a dozen people were hospitalised during the last three days in this port town in Krishna district.

Sanitary conditions in the town have not improved with rain and drain water logging in several places. Efforts to siphon out the water in low-lying areas are underway by digging an artificial drain from Chilakalapudi railway station to the mouth of the sea.

Meanwhile, health authorities have inoculated about 5,000 people and chlorinated 4,700 wells. About 50 medical teams are on the job.

Kohima (PTI): Outbreak of dysentery since last month has been reported in and around Dimapur town, sparking fears that it could lead to spread of cholera in epidemic form.

The additional deputy commissioner, Dimapur, convened a meeting of government officials yesterday to take preventive measures against spread of cholera epidemic.

The medical authority, Dimapur, has ordered supply of cholera vaccines from shillong for inoculation of the town population, official sources said here today.

Import and sale of both dry and fresh fish has been banned.

Gujarat fishermen warned of winds

RAJKOT, August 7 (PTI): The fishermen of north Gujarat, Saurashtra and south Gujarat coasts have been warned not to venture far out in the sea as gusty winds with a speed of 55 to 70 kms per hour is likely to sweep over the coasts.

The sea will be rough with high tidal waves, according to a message received here from the Colaba weather office.

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State kharif sowing on in full swing

PUNE, August 7 (PTI).

SOWING of kharif crop was in full swing in most of the divisions in Maharashtra, except parts of Pune division where rains were still inadequate while heavy rains have affected crops in Aurangabad and Amravati, according to the directorate of agriculture here.

In Konkan division, transplanting of paddy and ragi crops has been completed to the extent of 70 and 45 per cent respectively.

Sowing of pulse crops and oilseed crops was in progress and has been completed to the extent of 46 and 66 per cent. The condition of already sown kharif crops as well as transplanted paddy and ragi crops was reported to be satisfactory.

Good rains were received during the week in all districts of Nasik division. Sowing of bajra continued on a large scale in parts of Niphad, Sinnar, Chandwad, Malegaon, Nandgaon and Baglan tahsils.

Similarly, sowing of kharif crops was nearing completion in parts of Dhule and Jalgaon districts. So far, the sowing of kharif crops was completed to the extent of 51 per cent in Nasik district, 97 per cent in Dhule district and 89 per cent in Jalgaon district. Transplanting of early paddy and ragi crop was in progress in parts of Igatpuri, Peint and Surgana tahsils.

Due to excessive rains, the crops in the low-lying areas, particularly early maturity crops like, udid, mung and sesamum, have been affected adversely in parts of Dhule and Jalgaon districts.

Moderate to heavy rains were received in Pune district Heavy rainfall was also recorded in Jamkhed tahsil of Ahmednagar district and Pandharpur tahsil of Solapur district.

However, rains received in Shrirampur, Kopargaon and Sangamner tahsils of Ahmednagar district were inadequate and hence further sowing of kharif crops was held up.

Transplanting of paddy crop was in full swing in western parts of Pune district. Intercultivating operations in kharif crops were in progress in parts of one division. Germination and growth of sown kharif crops is reported to be satisfactory.

Harvesting of summer groundnut was in progress. The summer crop of sunflower was in maturity stage while harvesting of thus crop was in progress in some parts of the division.

Moderate to heavy rains were received in parts of Satara and Kolhapur districts. Similarly light to moderate and heavy rains were also received in parts of Sangli district. These rains were beneficial for already sown kharif crops. However, more rains were still needed in Jath, Latpadi and Kawathe Mahankal tahsils of Sangli district.

Sowing of kharif crops was in progress in parts of the division, similarly transplanting of paddy crop was in progress in western parts of Satara, Sangli and Kolhapur.

During the week, good rains were received in most parts of the division. Sowing of kharif crops was nearing completion in parts of the division. So far the sowing of kharif was completed to the extent of 109 per cent in Aurangabad district, 107 per cent in Jalna district, 95 per cent in Parbhani district, 103 per cent in Beed district, 100 per cent in Nanded district, 92 per cent in Osmanabad district and 103 per cent in Latur district.

Due to continuous rains, the crops have been affected adversely and intercultivating operations were also held up in parts of Parbhani and Nanded district. Overall condition of kharif crops was reported to be satisfactory in the division.

During the week, heavy rains were received in most parts of Amravati division. Sowing of kharif crops was nearing completion in parts of the division. So far the sowing of kharif crops was completed to the extent of 100 per cent in Buldana district, 94 per cent in Akola district, 102 per cent in Amravati district and 90 per cent in Yavatmal district.

Moderate to heavy rains were received in most parts of Nagpur division. Sowing of kharif crops was nearly completed in the division except Bhandara district where sowing of paddy, groundnut and sesamum crop still continued.

Similarly transplanting of paddy was in progress in parts of Nagpur, Bhandara, Chandrapur and Gadchiroli districts. So far the sowing of kharif crops was completed to the extent of 90 per cent in Wardha district, 69 per cent in Nagpur district, 54 per cent in Bhandara district, 72 per cent in Chandrapur district and 106 per cent in Gadchiroli district.

Mussoorie chosen for tourism talks

The Times of India News Service

NEW DELHI, August 7: Mussoorie, in the Garhwal hills, has been selected by the Indian Mountaineering Foundation for this year's Himalayan mountaineering and tourism conference from September 23 to 25.

Over 300 delegates from all over the world will be participants.

To promote mountaineering, trekking and adventure tourism, the IMF had earlier held conferences in Delhi, Srinagar, Darjeeling and Manali. This year, the host is the U.P. government with the Garhwal Mandal Vikas Nigam Ltd., as the convener.

According to U.P. officials here, the Garhwal commissioner, Mr S. S. Pantgey, will be the chairman of the local host committee at Mussoorie, while the managing director of the Garhwal Mandal Mr Deepak Singhal, will be the member-secretary.

The co-sponsors are the Central Department of Tourism, Air-India, ITDC, Indian Airlines, Vayudoot, hill states and consortium of various travel agencies.

The three main subjects proposed to be taken up for discussion at the meeting are environment, adventure tourism and the development of rock climbing. An exhibition on the Himalayas, including its flora and fauna, and the rich heritage of its people, has been planned.

Meanwhile, a consortium of 10 private travel agencies is organising pre-convention and post-convention trek tours in the Garhwal Himalayas.

Banerjee appointed NCC chief

NEW DELHI, August 7 (PTI): Lt-Gen Ashish Banerjee has taken over as the director-general, National Cadet Corps.

He was additional military secretary in the defence headquarters before his present appointment.

Commissioned in the regiment of artillery on June 11, 1953, Lt-Gen Banerjee served with various regiments of field branch artillery and commanded a medium regiment during the 1971 operations in Bangladesh.

Later, he commanded an artillery brigade in the Jammu and Kashmir sector and was director, NCC, West Bengal, Sikkim and the Andamans, according to an official press release.

A graduate of the defence services staff college, Wellington, he has held many important staff appointments including colonel general staff (operations) of a corps headquarters.

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EDIT PAGE

A THOUGHT FOR TODAY

I'm glad I don't have to explain to a man from Mars why each day I set fire to dozens of little pieces of paper, and then put them in my mouth.

—Mignon McLaughlin

Smoke Signals

Executives and doctors, among others, make sure to keep in touch with initiatives and innovations in their field around the world. Do legislators? A few may do so, but it's hard to imagine all our members of Parliament, as a group, studiously examining multi-national cutting-edge law passed in some other country. So we would like to take this opportunity to inform them about a rule adopted recently in the European Union (EU), which they might want to consider emulating in India. The health ministers of all the 15 EU members voted for a law that bans tobacco advertisements in magazines and newspapers, as well as on radio and the Internet. For good measure, cigarette companies will also be prohibited from sponsoring events like Formula One motor racing. All the EU members will have to incorporate the pan-European law into their national statutes by July 2005. Advertising of tobacco products on television was already banned under a separate law; the health ministers have also recommended that advertisements for tobacco products should not be allowed on billboards or other products, like clothing. In short, it could soon become impossible for tobacco companies to advertise their products on any medium throughout the EU.

Should India go ahead with a similar legislation? Well, at the very least, we should certainly consider debating it. Inevitably, there will be questions about how such a law would violate the advertiser's freedom of expression and the consumer's right to choose. But it is generally accepted that freedom of expression cannot extend to inciting someone else to cause physical harm to others, or to commit suicide. There is extensive documentation available on the harmful effects of both active and passive smoking, apart from the damage caused to national economies owing to the healthcare tab that falls upon governments and the loss of productivity caused by tobacco-related diseases. It is also a fact that as the developed world becomes ever more stringent in the anti-tobacco campaign, multinationals will increasingly seek to promote its consumption in developing nations. It is, therefore, up to governments and legislatures to ensure a degree of global uniformity in the way the tobacco business is treated. Of course, if one strictly follows the logic that everything that kills should be banned, then it's high time we declared a drugs war as well. And while we're at it, how about banning the single biggest cause of mass killings: organised religion?

Kangaroo Course

Ever since the days of ANZUS, also known as the Pacific Security Treaty, Australia has been seen as Uncle Sam's surrogate Down Under, a sort of mini-US of the southern hemisphere. Even after its much smaller neighbour, New Zealand, began to distance itself from Washington's nuclear and other controversial policies, Australia continued to be hailed as the 51st state of the United States. Little wonder then that following on the heels of the Bali terrorist bombing in which a number of *Australian citizens were killed*, prime minister John Howard has threatened pre-emptive strikes against any country in the region which Canberra sees as a base for an actual or potential terrorist attack. While Mr Howard's declaration of unilateralism has caused consternation in the region, and invited condemnation especially from Malaysia and the Philippines, president George Bush has extended full support to it. This may have emboldened Mr Howard to ignore domestic criticism, and his "arrogant" refusal to apologise for his statements but defiantly re-assert that Australia had the right to pre-emptive action. The reiteration — coming after the Australian foreign minister's whirlwind consultations in the region by saying that Mr Howard's statement was "misunderstood" — can only worsen Canberra's relations with neighbours which have been on a downslide since Mr Howard took office six years ago.

Is Mr Howard's proclaimed right to unilateral military action defensible, both as a principle and a practical option? To accept his logic in South Asia would imply that, given Pakistan's continued export of terrorism to India, New Delhi has every recourse to pre-emptive strikes on Islamabad. The exercise of such a questionable prerogative, far from countering terrorism, would only give rise to new dangers. While Mr Bush would be averse to pre-emptive strikes in one part of the world, he endorses such exercises elsewhere. At a practical level, Australia is jeopardising its relations with South East Asia at a crucial juncture. Malaysia has threatened to withdraw from its counter-terrorism pact with Australia while the Philippines is rethinking plans for a similar agreement. Mr Howard's remarks could trigger a backlash in Indonesia and disrupt the joint efforts to investigate the Bali bombings. Jakarta seems to be more mindful of this than either Canberra or Washington, as borne out by its unusually restrained response to the provocation. Australia would be well advised to signal clearly that it is not advocating state vigilantism as an antidote to terrorism.

Love Conquers All

Love makes the world go round and revolve, but in real-life revolution, adoration and fondness aren't very helpful. During the Vietnam war, the flower children and peaceniks who placed daisies in rifles as war cries as a groundswell against the war. Nearer home, now, the National Liberation Front of Tripura (NLFT) is learning fast that love works as an impediment in its struggle for a separate homeland. The NLFT, it is reported, had to abandon its scheme to raise a women's wing for which it recruited, over the past year, some 70 young women. The reason? Some male guerillas, according to the Tripura police, fell in love with the female recruits, some deserting the cause, some eloping to get married and some other couples surrendering. A few, fearing reprisals, went into joint hiding. The path of true love never runs smooth and as Francis Bacon, forerunner of Bacon, foresaw this 400 years ago. "He that hath wife and children", wrote Bacon, "has given hostage to fortune, for they are impediments to greater enterprise, either of virtue or of mischief". Gautama the Buddha had also initially opposed the NLFT outfit was quite rigorous and exhausting". When they fell in love in the training camp, they decided to quit the outfit, elope and get married, like others in Tripura". Love laughs at locksmiths, they say, and the couple feels perhaps that "stone walls do not a prison make/ Nor iron bars a cage", and it has surrendered, unafraid of being jailed.

Educating the Mind

Errors in Textbook Production

By Krishna Kumar

For the government or the NCERT to claim that the Supreme Court approval to the new history textbooks is blatantly untrue. The new texts were not available at the time the court gave its verdict. And the verdict does not discuss the question of textbooks. The NCERT is fortunate that there was a stay order on its social science textbooks when the case against the national curriculum framework was heard. Not even the harshest critics of the NCERT's functioning could have imagined that the history texts will be so indefensible. True, the sociology text had given an inkling that the apex body was determined to take a giant leap backwards, but the new history of India is a product of its own kind.

Whoever you speak to in the little world of those anxious about children's education is busy analysing these texts. What a colossal waste of national time this analytical frenzy is, I wonder. How and why should anyone analyse a text which is designed to teach a twisted version of history, precisely if we know what the design is? The idea that it is necessary to prove the allegation does not make adequate sense.

And if one ignores the distortions as 'errors'—as many well-intentioned people have done—then too, one may ask, why a professional body like the NCERT should require outsiders to find errors in its work. Doesn't its professional status require it to supply error-free products?

Schools are understandably in a tragic quandary. As a Congress-ruled state, Delhi is facing a unique confusion. The government does not want its schools to use the new textbooks, but all of them are affiliated to the CBSE which has so far maintained a non-belligerent stance. It is apparently under pressure to amend the circular it had issued earlier this year that class IX syllabus for social science will not change in 2003. Perhaps the worst plight is that of Kendriya Vidyalayas which are spread all over the country and which must follow the CBSE syllabus. They cannot even consider switching to ICSE which recommends far better, privately published textbooks. Many public schools are wondering why they shouldn't leave the government-dominated CBSE and seek affiliation with ICSE.

Why so much anxiety is being spent over the NCERT's remarkable texts is because the real world of education is a puzzle to our civil society institutions. Those who frame these institutions as corrective devices are accustomed to viewing education as a seasonal worry. It hits them once at the time of admission, and then at the time of examination. The Indian elite have been relaxed about their children's education for a long, long time. Their world consisted of a handful of schools which taught children along politically correct lines and offered them sponsored mobility all the way to college and work. In matters like curriculum, they believed that a national consensus was backing them.

That consensus, or what there was of it, stands tattered today. And that is why so many institutions created during the Nehru era are behaving in grimly funny ways. One of them is the NCERT which was modelled after the pedagogic institute of Moscow. Its utility as an ideological tool has slipped out of one orbit of nationalism into another one. For the first time since Independence, the elite have been forced to recognise the essentially political character of education. They now have three options to deal with the situation. One is to keep resisting the misuse of an instrument which they regarded as the monopoly of secular nationalism. Given the record of the recent past, this option does not inspire much hope. The second option is to seek ICSE affiliation for elite public schools.

The third is a middle way, requiring an objective view of the overall system and agreeing to a reform which does not seem politically correct. Privatisation of schools and nationalisation of textbooks have co-existed in Our system for quite some time now. Publication of textbooks by state agencies has been highly inefficient and divisive, considering that it is the poor who lose the privately produced, privately published textbooks. Yet, it is in the name of the poor that the gigantic public sector of textbooks is maintained, with huge subsidies that result in cheap prices. Why can we not think of establishing a textbook council whose job will be to publish a list of all available textbooks which meet the basic norms laid down in the curriculum. Schools, State agencies can be told to compete or perish. State schools using privately published texts should have the right to claim direct subsidy so that books can be purchased by poorer children at affordable prices.

De-nationalisation of textbook production will ease the tension we face today, and soon enough it will compel the examination system to reform itself. The CBSE can start that process by examining why ICSE examination papers are better and free of rote. Or they can ask why ICSE does not have the option to study from

AROUND THE WORLD

Anthony, Torres renew wedding vows: Singer Marc Anthony and former Miss Universe Dayanara Torres have renewed their wedding vows, emerging from the church holding hands as bridesmaids in scarlet gowns showered them with white rose petals.

D. Torres

Hundreds of well-wishers lined the narrow streets outside the Cathedral of San Juan and shouted "Kiss, Kiss!" the couple responded with one more kiss before being whisked away in a black limousine.

Close-up of Himalayan peak causes stiff neck: Even if your legs and lungs can't make it, you can still have a shot at the world's highest peak from the comfortable seat of a two-engine Beechcraft flying straight towards the Himalayas.

The risk here is neither altitude sickness nor hypothermia, but more like a stiff neck.

Voyagers aboard the so-called 'Mountain flights' strain to view the 8,848-metre Mount Everest as it appears on their right, or left, depending on where they are seated, and whether the aircraft is approaching or turning back from the Himalayan range.

Bride shows her love with 99,999 'hearts': For three years Nicole Wong collected every bus ticket she could lay her hands on, and at her wedding in Singapore on Sunday she presented her husband with the fruits of her labour — 99,999 paper hearts.

In Chinese tradition, nine is an auspicious number, especially at a wedding where it represents everlasting love.

The collection of neatly-folded hearts moved her husband Derek Wong to tears when she presented them to him as they left the church after their wedding ceremony.

Carter arrives in Norway to receive Nobel Peace prize

Oslo: Former US President Jimmy Carter arrived in Norway on Sunday ahead of the celebrations surrounding the presentation of the Nobel Peace Prize to him.

Carter, 78, his wife, Rosalyn, and family members were greeted by Gunnar Berge, chairman of the Nobel Peace Prize committee, when they arrived at Norway's national airport, two days ahead of the awards ceremony on Tuesday. "It's wonderful to be back in Norway once more, and particularly for this great occasion for me and my family," said Mr Carter after he landed. He called the Nobel "a great honour."

The awards' committee said Mr Carter's mediation of the 1978 Camp David peace accord alone was worthy of a Nobel Prize. AP

Iraqi disclosure should stand scrutiny: Bush

Washington: The US has vowed to pursue its campaign to end Saddam Hussein's "accumulation of weapons of mass destruction" despite Iraq's denial that it has banned weaponry.

President George W. Bush warned that the 12,000-page statement handed over to the United Nations on Saturday in Baghdad must hold up to US scrutiny if Iraq is to avoid military attack.

A White House statement emphasised that Iraq had only handed over "what it claims" is a statement of its biological, chemical, nuclear and other weapons programmes. It highlighted that a "full and accurate" declaration had been promised to the United Nations.

According to a top Iraqi official, the document contains no admissions of banned weapons development as the United States and Britain have insisted there are. The White House statement went on: "The US government will analyse this declaration with respect to its credibility and compliance with UN security council resolution 1441. "We will continue to work with other countries to achieve the ultimate goal of protecting the peace by ending Saddam Hussein's pursuit and accumulation of weapons of mass destruction."

Meanwhile, a UN plane carrying the massive Iraqi weapons declaration took off from an airport in Baghdad on Sunday en route for the United Nations in New York and Vienna, aviation officials said. AFP

39 Bangladeshi leaders held

Dhaka: In a surprise raid, the Bangladesh police on Sunday morning detained 39 opposition activists, including top leaders of the Awami League party like Saber Hossain Chowdhury, political secretary of former premier Sheikh Hasina and noted columnist Muntasir Mamun.

The police confirmed the arrests but said they were not related to Saturday's bomb explosion in Mymensingh district town that claimed 20 lives.

While the exact reasons and charges against the arrested leaders were not known, Mr Chowdhury was released on bail under a high court order.

Mr Muntasir Mamun, who teaches history at Dhaka University is a renowned columnist known for his strong criticism against the BNP-led government. PTI

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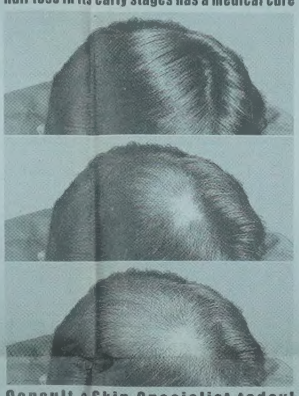

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